BIBLICAL, LITURGICAL, AND CLASSICAL ALLUSIONS IN **THE MERCHANT OF VENICE**

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE COUNCIL OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1970

University of Florida

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation studies the function of Biblical and liturgical allusions in The Merchant of Venice. It also studies the function of classical allusions to the extent that they are integral parts of the Biblical and liturgical pattern being studied. When necessary, it examines, makes use of, and occasionally attempts to solve some of the problems of previous scholarship. Usually, it differs from this previous scholarship by focusing on the whole of The Merchant and by examining the Biblical and liturgical allusions as structurally integral elements of the play.

At this point a brief survey of related approaches will help to define the scope, limits, methods, and goals of my study. It will also show that my approach to The Merchant through Biblical and liturgical allusions is not only similar to and dependent on previous scholarship but also needed and essential to a full understanding of The Merchant.

Previous Biblical approaches have not always studied the function of Shakespeare's Biblical allusions in their dramatic context. In the nineteenth century, especially, critics tended to see Biblical allusions in the plays as ornamental, or as evidence that Shakespeare was a "sincere believer in the Bible" or "in the doctrines taught therein,"[1] or as evidence that Shakespeare was either a Catholic, a conformist, or a Puritan.

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[1] William Burgess, The Bible in Shakespeare (Winona Lake, Indiana, 1903), p. ix. For similar points of view see also Charles Wordsworth, Shakespeare's Knowledge and Use of the Bible (London, 1864) and John Henry De Groot, The Shakespeares and "The Old Faith" (New York, 1946).

Thomas Carter, for example, correctly observed that some of Shakespeare's Biblical allusions can be traced to the Geneva version of the Bible, but from this fact he also concluded that both John Shakespeare and William Shakespeare were Puritan recusants.[2]

Recent Biblical approaches, however, do examine Biblical allusions as integral parts of the play in which they occur. Some of these approaches are similar to mine, and I am indebted to them, for frequently I continue where they have left off. Richmond Noble's Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge and Use of the Book of Common Prayer contains the most exhaustive survey of Biblical and liturgical allusions in the plays of Shakespeare.[3] And although he does not analyze the allusions nor show how they fit into the context of the plays, his list does suggest that they are part of a coherent pattern. Another work which focuses on coherent patterns, although it does not deal specifically with The Merchant, is that of John Hankins who traces "Shakespeare's habit of recalling the same image from several sources," one of the most frequent of which is "the Bible, particularly Psalms, Proverbs, and the Book of Job."[4] Again, my approach to The Merchant is similar to that of J. A. Bryant who shows from twelve plays how Shakespeare's knowledge of the Bible "worked in his art." He concludes that "consciously or unconsciously, Shakespeare was a genuine typologist

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[2]Thomas Carter, Shakespeare, Puritan and Recusant (London, 1897), and Shakespeare and Holy Scripture, with the Version He Used (London, 1905).

[3]Richmond Noble, Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge and Use of the Book of Common Prayer (London, 1935).

[4]John Erskine Hankins, Shakespeare's Derived Imagery (Lawrence, Kansas, 1953), pp. 16-17.

in his use of Scriptural allusions and analogy," one who regarded Scriptural stories, persons, and images as "incorporating meaning rather than pointing to it," and who used Biblical allusions because "They extend the depth of the play itself; they do not merely point to the depths outside the play."[5] Although Hankins and Bryant analyze the function of Biblical allusions in Shakespeare, they do not deal specifically with The Merchant.

A Biblical approach that is most similar to mine in its method of demonstrating Shakespeare's dramatic uses of Scripture is James Sims's Dramatic Uses of Biblical Allusions in Marlowe and Shakespeare. Again, however, my study differs in scope from that of Sims, for Sims does not deal with plays as a whole but with "a sampling of dramatic uses" from the early and minor dramatists, from two plays of Marlowe, and from two or three selections from each of the comedies, histories, and tragedies of Shakespeare. The goal of my study, however, is the same as that of Sims. By focusing on Shakespeare's use of Biblical themes, stories, and names, I intend to illustrate from The Merchant, as Sims illustrates from Elizabethan dramatists,

> the multitude of ways these dramatists found to add depth and breadth to the effectiveness of their characterization, dialogue, foreshadowing, irony, and to the total working out of theme by depending on knowledge already in the minds of the audience.[6]

My Biblical and liturgical approach to The Merchant of Venice, then, is

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[5]J. A. Bryant, Jr., Hippolyta's View, Some Christian Aspects of Shakespeare's Plays (Lexington, 1961), pp. 16-17. Bryant analyzes "the essential Christianity" of The Merchant on pages 33-51.

[6]James Sims, Dramatic Uses of Biblical Allusions in Marlowe and Shakespeare (Gainesville, 1966), p. 77.

similar to recent studies, but I focus on a single play and attempt a comprehensive analysis of Biblical and liturgical allusions.

My approach differs fundamentally from many of the allegorical, mythic, and ritualistic approaches to The Merchant that became popular in the twenties. These approaches make use of Biblical and liturgical elements in their analyses, but they often claim to see more of a coherent pattern than their evidence and the play will support. Moreover, allegory often tends to oversimplify The Merchant by making abstractions of the characters, picturing the conflict as simple good versus absolute evil, and presenting the denouement as a perfectly harmonious resolution.

In his allegorical approach, for example, John D. Rea finds that many features of the trial scene in The Merchant (Shylock's villainous prosecution, his being associated with the devil, his scales, and his abject departure at the end of the play) are "merely a re-dramatization of the Medieval Processus Belial, with Shylock substituted for the devil, Portia for the Virgin Mary, and the passive Antonio playing the role of mankind."[7] Similarly, Nevill Coghill sees the trial scene of The Merchant as directly influenced by the medieval allegory, the "Parliament of Heaven" in which justice and mercy (two of the four daughters of God) argue over the fate of mankind after his fall.[8] Again, Sir Israel Gollancz sees The Merchant as an extension of the allegorical tradition which dramatizes Scriptural stories. Such an approach to The Merchant, however, tends to

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[7]John D. Rea, "Shylock and the Processus Belial," Philological Quarterly, VIII (1929), 311.

[8]Nevill Coghill, "The Basis of Shakespearean Comedy," Essays and Studies, III (London, 1950), 1-28. See also Hope Travers, "The Four Daughters of God," PMLA, XL (1925), 44-82.

point to deeper meaning outside the play rather than within the play itself. Gollancz claims that "The starting point of the legend of Shylock" is "some early monkish" homily which blended the two texts: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man should lay down his life for his friend" and "Christ also loved the Church and gave Himself for it."[9]

My approach to the Biblical and liturgical elements in The Merchant is at variance with these approaches since I do not consider The Merchant an allegory nor the Biblical and liturgical allusions as functioning parts of an allegory. Admittedly, however, the allegorical approach does have a great diversity of methods, directions, interests, and critics; and at times I have found these allegorical interpretations both interesting and provocative.[10]

In my study of the Biblical and liturgical allusions in The Merchant I have tried to limit my examination of Scriptural and liturgical allusions to their primary source, the liturgy and the Bible. This means that I have necessarily excluded many important secondary sources for Biblical and liturgical allusions. Shakespeare's audience, for example, was familiar with narratives, parables, names, phrases, themes, and images of the Bible not only directly from their private reading and public church services

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[9] Sir Israel Gollancz, Allegory and Mysticism in Shakespeare (London, 1931), pp. 19, 17.

[10] A recent and thorough investigation of allegory in The Merchant is that of Barbara K. Lewalski, "Biblical Allusion and Allegory in The Merchant of Venice," Shakespeare Quarterly, XIII (1962), 327-343. Her analysis of the conflict between Shylock and Antonio, their use of Biblical allusions and imagery, their representation of the Jewish and Christian communities, and Shylock's "forced conversion" are all enlightening. But I do not feel that she demonstrates the existence of "consistent and unmistakable allegorical meanings" in The Merchant.

but also indirectly from cycle plays, moralities, and mysteries which established a tradition for the use of Biblical allusions in drama.[11] I have also excluded other important secondary sources for Shakespeare's Biblical allusions such as the plays of Shakespeare's contemporaries and the didactic and poetic literature of the period.

For the most part, these secondary sources have received much critical attention; but a relatively unacknowledged secondary source, which merits further study, is the English proverb. Morris Tilley's A Dictionary of Proverbs adequately demonstrates that English proverbs were a rich secondary source for Biblical allusions in Shakespearean drama. The following are some convincing examples which "especially attracted Shakespeare and other Elizabethans."[12] In The Merchant Antonio comments: "The Devil can cite Scripture for his purpose."[13] This is an allusion to the Biblical passage:

> Then the devill . . . sayeth unto him, If thou be the sonne of God, cast thy selfe downe: for it is written, that he shall give his angels charge over thee, and with their handes they shall lift thee up least at any time thou dash thy foote against a stone.[14]

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[11]Recently, Bernard Spivack has shown how the "hybrid" plays between 1520 and 1585 influenced Shakespeare's villains. These plays combined allegorical elements from the moralities, narrative elements from the Bible, and thematic interpretations from the homiletic tradition, all of which Spivack sees reflected in Shakespeare's villains. See Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil (New York, 1958), especially pp. 255-269.

[12]Morris Tilley, A Dictionary of Proverbs (Ann Arbor, 1950), "Foreword," p. vii. Tilley adds that "The Bible naturally exercised a stronger influence on English [proverbs] than any other foreign work, if, indeed, we can call a book foreign that was read in every household."

[13]The Arden Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare, The Merchant of Venice, ed. John Russell Brown (London, 1955), I.iii.93. All subsequent references to The Merchant are from this edition unless noted otherwise.

[14]The Bishops' Bible (London, 1585), Matthew 4:5-6. For a full

Another English proverb based on a Biblical allusion is "The Devil can transform himself into an angel of light" which comes from:

> For such false apostles are deceitful workers, transformed into the Apostles of Christ. And no mervaile: for Satan himselfe is transformed into an angell of light.
> (II Cor. 11:13-14)

This allusion is a favorite with Shakespeare:

> Dromio of Syracuse: Nay, she is worse, she is the devil's dam . . . the wenches say "God damn me," that's as much as to say, "God make me a light wench." It is written, they appear to men like angels of light.
> (Comedy of Errors IV.iii.51-4)

> Biron: Devils soonest tempt, resembling spirits of light.
> (Love's Labours Lost IV.iii.254)

> Hamlet: The spirit that I have seen
> May be the devil: and the devil hath power
> To assume a pleasing shape.
> (Hamlet II.ii.227-9)

> Iago: Divinity of hell!
> When devils will their blackest sins put on
> They do suggest at first with heavenly shows
> As I do now.
> (Othello II.iii.341-4)

Clearly, then, although I have not looked into English proverbs, the cycle plays, nor Shakespeare's contemporaries for their use of Scriptural and liturgical allusions, these secondary sources constitute a solid tradition that was familiar to both Shakespeare and his audience. And, of course, the more frequently the Elizabethans encountered an allusion, the

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discussion of Shakespeare's version of the Bible, see Richmond Noble, Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge, pages 9-12, and Chapter V, "Which Version did Shakespeare Use?" pages 58-89. Noble's conclusion is that "evidence tending to a certain cumulative effect" (p. 64) suggests that Shakespeare used the Bishops' Bible for The Merchant. Thus, all Biblical quotations in this dissertation will be taken from the Bishops' Bible unless otherwise noted.

more certain its meaning became and the more effective the allusion became in the context of the play.

The effectiveness of any allusion depends on the familiarity of the audience with the allusion. And since most of the Biblical allusions in The Merchant can be found in both the Bible and the liturgy, it is my practice to acknowledge both sources. For it was especially by participating in the liturgy of the Church of England, that is, in the official, public worship conducted daily in parish churches and cathedrals throughout England, that Elizabethans became familiar with a wide range of Biblical narratives, names, themes, and traditional interpretations. Elizabethans were required by law to attend the liturgy on all Sundays and major feast days throughout the year. Moreover, since this liturgy was made up primarily from Scriptural passages, and since the Anglican liturgy was continuously being revised, the scope of Old and New Testament passages with which the average Elizabethan was familiar was continuously expanding. Thus, the more frequently a name, image, story, or theme was encountered by an Elizabethan, the more certain and emphatic the allusion in the play became.

As I mentioned in the first paragraph, I have found it necessary to dedicate a section of this dissertation to an analysis of classical allusions because they were woven inseparably into the Biblical and liturgical pattern. Although these classical allusions have been discussed at great length during the last four hundred years, it was not enough for me merely to report what classical scholars have written. For example, in the fifth act Lorenzo's allusion to Dido is usually considered an erroneous allusion to Ariadne:

> In such a night
> Stood Dido with a willow in her hand
> Upon the wild sea banks, and waft her love
> To come again to Carthage.
> (V.i.9-12)

But the liturgical context sheds a new light on this classical problem. In the context of the liturgical motif of deliverance from bondage and in the context of the ensuing lovers' quarrel, this "error" can be seen as a functional and integral part of the play.

This dissertation, then, attempts to explain the functional role of allusions in The Merchant. That is, it attempts to see various themes and motifs of the play as they appear in the allusions. It attempts to see these allusions as integral parts of the play itself and not as simple ornamentation. And, generally, it finds that these Biblical and liturgical allusions extend the depth of the play by illustrating and suggesting values already in the minds of the audience regarding various themes and motifs of The Merchant: friendship, love, marriage, filial obedience, trust, love, elopement, theft, thrift, usury, justice, mercy, death, redemption, sacrifice, and resurrection.

Now a word about the motif of bondage and its resolution in The Merchant. Although some critics have tried to find a governing idea or image which would be a key to understanding The Merchant,[15] I do not feel that there is such a single idea or image. There are many ideas, motifs, and images in The Merchant, one of which is the bond image or the motif of bondage. Even a single viewing or a casual reading of The Merchant evokes an apprehensive awareness of Shylock's sadistically "merry" bond

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[15] John Russell Brown discusses this approach to The Merchant in his "Introduction" to the Arden Edition, pp. xlix-lviii.

and the cruel financial bondage he tries to impose on his creditors, for Shylock's bond is central to The Merchant. Added to this, however, are many other patterns of bondage, of being willingly or unwillingly bound and obligated to another. For example, there is the bond of marriage which unites Portia and Bassanio as well as Lorenzo and Jessica. There are the bonds of filial love, obedience, and respect which supposedly unite Portia to her dead father, Jessica to Shylock, and Launcelot to his father. There are the bonds of civil law which Shylock righteously demands and the obligations of mercy which Portia solicits. There is the open rejection of any bond of friendship or trust between the Christians of Venice and the Jewish Shylock and the open witness to the bond of love and trust between the Christian Lorenzo and the Jewish Jessica. In general, there is a form of willing bondage which demands that a friend or lover run a risk, make a sacrifice, and even endure death, and there is a form of cruel bondage that demands an unwilling death.

In act one Shylock introduces this pattern of bondage and its related forms, clothing it in Scriptural and liturgical allusions.[16] For him these allusions become a tool for justifying his practice of usury and his cash system of values. He uses the Bible to discredit the "good" Antonio, to justify taking advantage of the "prodigal" Christians, to claim God's approval of his thrift, and to proclaim himself a chosen descendent of Abram and a member of a sacred nation. Consistently,

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[16]"From the point of view of Scriptural quotations," observes Richmond Noble, The Merchant is "the most important of all the plays, for in it Shakespeare affords evidence of having studied the Bible closely in his delineation of Shylock. In the deal between Laban and Jacob he may be said to have used the Bible as he used Holinshed or North in other plays" (Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge, p. 161).

presenting himself favorably and the Christians unfavorably, Shylock selects, distorts, and disputes, using names, passages, images, and themes coming mostly from the Old Testament.[17]

In chapter one of this dissertation, then, we will examine the patterns of bondage which Shylock introduces and defends through Scriptural allusions. In chapter two we will examine the patterns of liberation, redemption, and resolution. We will see how Lorenzo and Jessica, Jewess and Christian, use Biblical and liturgical allusions much as Shylock and the antagonistic Christians do in act one. We will see how, in a moonlit garden at Belmont, merrily engaging in a lovers' quarrel, they recall the earlier cruel and unwilling bondage of Venice and Shylock, celebrate liberation from bondage, and contract new bonds of love and trust.

In the pursuit of my studies and in the writing of this dissertation, I have become personally and professionally indebted to many people. Among the teachers who have taken a personal interest in me and my education are especially Professor T. Walter Herbert and Professor Thomas R. Preston. Among the members of my supervisory committee, I acknowledge my debt of gratitude to Professor Ants Oras and Professor Richard Hiers.

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[17]Henry Morley sees the central conflict of The Merchant in Antonio's standing between "the two principles of justice and mercy, of the Old Testament and the New, as Shakespeare read them" (English Writers [London, 1893], Vol. X, "Shakespeare and His Time: Under Elizabeth," pp. 243-4). Barbara Lewalski sees in The Merchant a Biblical "confrontation" between the Old Testament Law which "leads only to death and destruction" and a New Testament faith, love, and mercy which not only discredits the Law but constitutes "the fulfillment of the Law and covers all defects" ("Biblical Allusions and Allegory in The Merchant of Venice," Shakespeare Quarterly, XIII [1962], 341, 343).

I am forever grateful for the financial assistance, continuous encouragement, personal sacrifices, and generous prayers of my confreres, the monks of Saint Leo Abbey, Florida, my dear parents, Frank and Margaret Cosgrove, and the many friends and relatives who have "prayed and encouraged me through." In particular, it is a pleasure to acknowledge the personal interest, the beneficial criticism, and the persistent encouragement of Professor T. Walter Herbert who guided my dissertation from start to finish.

CHAPTER I

SHYLOCK'S USE OF THE BIBLE AND THE MOTIF OF BONDAGE

The Problem of Usury in England

In the first act of The Merchant, Scriptural allusions abound, mostly in Shylock's defense of usury. But Shylock is not the only one who uses Scripture to defend his own position. The Christians of Venice use Scripture against Shylock--much as the sixteenth-century Elizabethans did in their arguments for and against usury. Just as Shylock defends his practice of usury, and later the "justice" of his bond, on Old Testament grounds, so the Christians of Venice reject usury and defend mercy on New Testament grounds. And although this Scriptural dialectic is hardly in the manner of a formal Renaissance debate, it is a manner of arguing quite familiar to Elizabethans who associated it with what they considered the primary moral problems of the day.

Usury, for the Elizabethan audience, was not a remote problem of Venetians and Jewish usurers but an immediate problem of Englishmen and English usurers. As E. C. Pettet notes, from 1580 to 1600, some of the most notable people of England were heavily indebted to merciless creditors and were daily becoming more so:

> Sir Philip Sidney owed £6,000, the Earl of Essex £22,000, the Duke of Norfolk £6,000 - £7,000, the Earl of Huntingdon £20,000, the Earl of Leicester £59,000, Lord Sandys £3,100, Sir F. Willoughby £21,000, and Sir Percival Willoughby £8,000. Others who were heavily in debt included the Earl of Sussex, Lord Thomas Howard, the Earl of Rutland, Lord Vaux of Harrowden, Lord Scrope, and Shakespeare's own patron, the Earl of Southampton, who at one time had surrendered his

> estates to creditors, and 'scarce knows what course to take to live.'[1]

Moreover, the usurers who advanced these large sums of money were not Jews but thriving English tradesmen, merchants, and scriveners (like Milton's father), who frequently obtained land and estates as security. As Jacob Cardozo demonstrates in his comprehensive study of the contemporary Jew in Elizabethan drama, those few Jews who did live in London were Baptized, conforming Christians.[2]

The use of Scripture in pamphlets and sermons defending and condemning usury also familiarized Elizabethans with both the practice of usury in England and the Scriptural defense of it. In 1572, for example, Thomas Wilson complains not about Jewish usurers or Venetians but about the immediate and crying problem, the iniquity of English usurers and the interest they charged:

> I do not knowe anyeplace in christendome, so muche subject to thys foule synne of usurie, as the whole realme of Englande ys at thys present, and hathe bene of late yeares. For men of wealth are nowe wholy geeven every wheare all together to idlenes, to gett their gaine with ease, and to lyve by lending. . . . But these men do not live in any vocation, but being the divels knowne apprentices in earth, and bound to doe, as hee would have them: seeks when they are dead to serve hym in hell, as I take it. For god sayeth by hys prophete David, that he shall never dwell in hys tabernacle, that hathe put out hys mony for usury.[3]

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[1]E. C. Pettet, "The Merchant of Venice and the Problem of Usury," Essays and Studies, XXXI (1945), 20.

[2]Jacob Lopes Cardozo, The Contemporary Jew in Elizabethan Drama (Amsterdam, 1925). Cardozo concludes that "Jews were not present in Elizabethan and early Stewart England" (p. 330).

[3]Thomas Wilson, A Discourse Uppon Usurye, 1572 (University Microfilm, Ann Arbor, 1949), reel 403, Introductory Epistle, p. iiii.

The sixteenth century witnessed a continuous flow of treatises and sermons which cited Old and New Testament teachings about usury: N. Sanders's Briefe Treatise of Usurie (1568), Sir Thomas Wilson's A Discourse Uppon Usurie (1572), Phillippus Caesar's A General Discourse Against the Damnable Sect of Usurers (1578), Henry Smith's Examination of Usury (1591), The Death of Usury, or the Distrace of Usurers (1594), M. Mosse's The Arraignment and Conviction of Usurie (1595), and T. Bell's Speculation of Usury (1596).

Although an Elizabethan, then, might never encounter a Jew, much less a Jewish usurer, he was well prepared to associate Shylock with an Old Testament defense of usury. And when Shylock uses the Biblical story Jacob and Laban to defend usury (I.iii.66-91), when he invokes "heaven" in his defense (IV.i.224), and when he calls for law and justice in the final scene, he uses Scriptural passages and arguments familiar to an Elizabethan audience. John Draper suggests that in his defense of usury Shylock is actually using the kind of specious argument which "To the Elizabethan was mordant casuistry."[4]

In this sense, then, and against this background, Shylock the Jewish usurer and Antonio the young aristocrat in need of a loan are easily recognized Elizabethans. And the Scriptural allusions which they rally to their defense are similar to those found in the many treatises and sermons dealing with the controversy over usury.

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[4] John W. Draper, "Usury in The Merchant of Venice," Modern Philology, XXXIII (1935), 44.

The Biblical "good man" and the Usurer

A detailed analysis, now, of Act I will demonstrate how Christian and Jew marshal Biblical allusions in their arguments over usury, theft, justice, mercy, thrift, ownership, and God's providential blessings and approval. In the first appearance of Shylock, Bassanio asks Shylock for a loan of three thousand ducats. Shylock's initial replies are clipped and business-like. But when Bassanio tells him that "Antonio shall be bound" for the three thousand ducats (I.iii.4), Shylock answers ambiguously that "Antonio is a good man" (I.iii.11), meaning that he is financially sound and therefore a good risk for a loan. Apparently, however, the word good also suggests an evaluation that is unrelated to the business at hand, for Bassanio is immediately indignant and he challenges Shylock: "Have you heard any imputation to the contrary?" Shylock answers with a subtle combination of Biblical and business-like language:

> No, no, no, no, no: my meaning in saying he is a good man, is to have you understand me that he is sufficient,--yet his means are in supposition: he hath an argosy bound to Tripolis, another to the Indies, I understand moreover upon the Rialto, he hath a third at Mexico, a fourth for England, and other ventures he hath squand'red abroad,--but ships are but boards, sailors but men, there be land-rats, and water-rats, water-thieves, and land-thieves, (I mean pirates), and then there is the peril of waters, winds, and rocks: the man is notwithstanding sufficient,--three thousand ducats,--I think I may take his bond.
>
> (I.iii.13-24)

Although Shylock admits here that Antonio is a "good man," his quickly shifting thoughts and images suggest more than a mere business-like evaluation. His key words--good, sufficient, he hath squand'red abroad, and perils of waters, winds, and rocks--all evoke Biblical passages and themes which suggest that his values stand in opposition

to those of Bassanio and Antonio. By means of these Shylock suggests that the "good" Antonio is merely a wealthy, prodigal merchant whose means are providentially in jeopardy. Thus, Shylock's word good is open to several interpretations.

Shylock is totally unwilling to accept the common estimation of Antonio as "the good Antonio, the honest Antonio"[5] who, in contrast with his own calculated usury, is uncalculating, self-sacrificing, and willing to put himself immediately at the disposal of his friend:

> My purse, my person, my extremest means
> Lie all unlock'd to your occasions.
> (I.i.138-9)

For a long time, as Shylock sees it, Antonio's generosity and willingness to lend money to those in need has been a personal affront to him, a religious, racial, and social barrier, a financially damaging interference, and the chief cause of his hatred. In his first aside, Shylock refers to this hatred as "the ancient grudge I bear him" (I.iii.42). And later, when he has no reason to be ambiguous, Shylock shouts:

> Gaoler look to him,--tell not me of mercy--
> This is the fool that lent out money gratis.
> (III.iii.1-2)

And hopelessly, Antonio admits that the conflict is irremediable:

> He seeks my life, his reason well I know;
> I oft deliver'd from his forfeitures
> Many that have at times made moan to me,
> Therefore he hates me.
> (III.iii.21-4)

Antonio is not a "good" man in Shylock's eyes, because Shylock has a

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[5] Salario is extremely laudatory: "that the good Antonio, the honest Antonio;--O that I had a title good enough to keep his name company" (III.i.12-14). Bassanio also refers to Antonio as "my good friend" (III.ii.232).

different system of values. As E. C. Pettet demonstrates, Shylock is trying to replace the old-world, aristocratic, self-sacrificing "idealized relationships of friendship and mutual service" with a "cash-nexus" system of evaluating what is "good."[6]

The Biblical overtones of Shylock's first speech constitute a rather subtle argument urged against a fairly stable background of sixteenth-century Scriptural teachings on usury. For example, the second alphabetical table of Biblical themes appended to the Geneva Bible, 1583, lists eighteen Biblical citations "Against Usury."[7] Repeatedly in these citations, the good man is the man who does not exact interest on loans but rather lends freely to his brother in need. Psalm 15, which was read on the fourth day of each month by those Elizabethans who attended morning prayers,[8] asks who will be worthy to enter the Lord's sanctuary

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[6]E. C. Pettet, "The Merchant of Venice and the Problem of Usury," Essays and Studies, XXXI, 1945, 29. Pettet notes that:

> For a long time pamphlets and books denouncing moneylending flowed on from the press, the most important being Wilson's Discourse upon Usury, first published in 1572. Another attack, worthy of note since it came out in 1595, only a year before the probable date of The Merchant of Venice, was Miles Mosse's Arraignment and Conviction of Usury, which, so the Stationers' Company Register declared, contained 'proof that it [usury] is manifestly forbidden by the Word of God, and sundry reasons alleged why it is justly and worthily condemned. . . . Divers causes why usury should not be practised of a Christian, especially not of an Englishman, though it could not be proved that it is not simply forbidden in the Scriptures'" (pp. 21-2).

According to Wilson (Discourse upon Usurye, 1572), "Hardness of heart hath now gotten place" and usury "defaceth chivalries, [and] beateth down nobility" (quoted by Pettet, p. 19). Pettet concludes that "Antonio is the hero of The Merchant of Venice because, through suffering and peril, he fights for the cause of disinterested generosity" (p. 27).

[7]Geneva Bible, 1583, "The Second Alphabet of . . . wordes."

[8]Liturgical Services. Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer Set Forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, "Index & Calendarium," ed.

(verse one), and then answers:

> Hee that giveth not his money upon usurie: nor taketh reward against the innocent.
>
> (Ps. 15:6)

Another Biblical aspect of the "good" man is that God will repay him for lending without interest. Thus, Psalm 112, which was read on the twenty-third day of each month at morning prayers and also at evening prayers on Easter Sunday,[9] pictures the good man being blessed by God with "Riches and plenteousnes" not because he is self-sufficient but because he is merciful and lends to the needy:

> Riches and plenteousnes shal be in his house: and his righteousnes endureth for ever. . . . he is mercifull, and loving, and righteous. A good man is merciful and lendeth.
>
> (Psalm 112:3-5)

The Geneva Bible glosses lendeth with the note: "Hee sheweth what is fruit of mercy: to lend freely and not for gaine, and so to measure his doings, that he may be able to helpe where neede requireth." Thus, good, sufficient, and usury are all words which are associated--either positively or negatively--with the providence of God.

The "good" man according to Scripture also lends what is "sufficient" for the needs of his brethren. Deuteronomy, chapter fifteen,

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William Keatinge Clay (Cambridge, 1847), p. 311. Subsequently I will refer to this edition as the Prayer Book (1559). Psalm fifteen is one of the first Scriptural passages used by Elizabethans in their arguments against the "foule synne of usurie." Thomas Wilson writes in his introductory epistle: "For god sayeth by hys prophete David, that he shall never dwell in hys tabernacle that hathe put out hys mony for usury," A Discourse Uppon Usurye, 1572, p. iiii. And Thomas Bell quotes verses one and six as the title-page inscription for his Speculation of Usury, 1596 (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1951), reel 451.

[9]"Index & Calendarium," Prayer Book (1559), pp. 311, 316.

assigned for evening prayers each year on February 28,[10] is explicit:

> If one of thy brethren among you be poore, within any of thy gates, in the lande which the Lorde thy God giveth thee: thou shalt not harden thine heart, nor shut to thine hande from thy poore brother: But thou shalt open thine hand unto him, and lend him sufficient for his neede which he hath. Beware that there be not a wicked thought in thine heart that . . . it grieveth thee to looke on thy poore brother, and givest him nought, and he then crie unto the Lorde against thee, and it be sinne unto thee. Thou shalt give him, and let it not grieve thine heart to give unto him.
> (Deut. 15:7-10)

Here, the antithesis of the "good" man is the hard-hearted man who lacks compassion and exacts interest from the needy. The Biblical image belongs to a recurrent pattern in the Pentateuch which describes Pharoah as the cruel master who held the Israelites in bondage (Exodus 1:32, 7:13, 7:14, 7:22, 8:15, 8:19). At the beginning of the trial scene, Antonio uses this same image to describe Shylock's lack of compassion:

> You may as well do any thing most hard
> As seek to soften that--than which what's harder?--
> His Jewish heart!
> (IV.i.78-80)

The Bible, then, pictures the good man as the man who is not hard hearted, but lends freely what is sufficient for his brother's need. If he does this the good man will be favored with "riches and plenteousness."

Scripture also insists that the "good" man should not seek the reward for being good although the Lord promises a reward. This Scriptural passage, listed under "Usury" in the concordance appended to the Geneva Bible, 1583, and used on the fourth Sunday after Trinity as the Gospel, reads:[11]

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[10] "The New Calendar, 1561," appended to the second edition, Prayer Book (1559), p. 445.

[11] The Prayer Book (1559), p. 142.

> But love ye your enemies: doe good and lend, hoping for nothing thereby, and your reward shal be much, and you shal be the sonnes of the Highest, because him self is beneficial upon the unkinde and the evil. Be ye therefore merciful as also your father is merciful. Judge not, & you shal not be judged. condemne not, & you shal not be condemned. forgive, and you shal be forgiven. Give, and there shal be given to you.
>
> (Luke 6:33-8)

Sufficiency and Prodigality

Even though Antonio is the type of man who is willing to "doe good and lend, hoping for nothing thereby," Shylock is unwilling to look upon him as a good man in the Biblical sense. For Shylock has replaced the Biblical value system for judging usury with an economical value system. He is willing to admit that Antonio is "good" in the very restricted sense of being financially "sufficient" (I.iii.15), for Antonio has argosies bound to "Tripolis . . . Indies . . . Mexico . . . [and] England." But he is not willing to admit that his Christian competitor is morally good or that his sufficiency is from God.

Antonio's sufficiency, according to Shylock, is perilous and "in supposition" (I.iii.15), for,

> ships are but boards, sailors but men, there be land-rats, and water-rats, water-thieves, and land-thieves, (I mean pirates), and then there is the peril of waters, winds, and rocks: the man is not withstanding sufficient.

Shylock's references here to sufficiency and to the perils of merchant ships are Biblical allusions to St. Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians. Chapter three, read at evening prayers on February eight and again as the Epistle for the twelfth Sunday after Trinity,[12] explains:

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[12] "The New Calendar, 1561," Prayer Book (1559), p. 445 and "The .xiix Sunday," Prayer Book (1559), p. 149.

> Not that we are sufficient of our selves, to think any thing, as of our selves: but our sufficiencie is of God.[13]

Chapter eleven, which Elizabethans listened to every Sexagesima Sunday,[14] reads:

> In journeying often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils of mine own nation, in perils among the heathen, in perils in the citie, in perils in the wildernesse, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren. (II Cor. 11:26)

Thus, only after Shylock has revaluated this "good" Antonio, judged his sufficiency against a background of Biblical allusions, and concluded that his present sufficiency does not come from God but is "in supposition" and therefore subject to the perilous circumstances and likely mishaps "sway'd and fashion'd by the hand of heaven,"[15] is he willing to venture: "I think I may take his bond" (I.iii.24). If Antonio's sufficiency is supposed to come from God, reasons Shylock, then God will provide for his sufficiency.

It is Shylock's belief, however, that heaven will favor him with Antonio's forfeiture, for this Christian is not his brother in need but the prodigal brother, "the fool that lent out money gratis."[16] As

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[13] Bishops' Bible, 2 Cor. 3:15. The Prayer Book (1559) gives the following translation for the twelfth Sunday after Trinity: "not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing, as of ourselves; but if we be able unto anything, the same cometh of God," p. 149.

[14] "The Epistle" for Sexagesima Sunday, Prayer Book (1559), pp. 94-95.

[15] Sixty lines later Antonio rejects Shylock's justification of usury on the grounds that it is not a godly "venture" "sway'd and fashion'd by the hand of heaven" (I.iii.86-90).

[16] The Merchant, III.iii.2. When Shylock calls Antonio a fool, he would very likely stir up in an Elizabethan audience remembrances of the following New Testament words of Jesus:

> Ye have heard that it was said unto them of old time, Thou shalt not kil, whosoever killeth shall be in danger

Richmond Noble observes, the parable of the prodigal son who received his inheritance, went abroad, and squandered it in riotous living "is the most frequently mentioned Parable of the Gospels in the plays."[17] The Bishops' Bible (1585) records this parable of "The prodigall sonne" as follows:

> A certain man had two sonnes: And the yonger of them said to his father, father, give mee the portion of the substance that to me belongeth. And he devided unto them his living. And not many dayes after, when the yonger sonne had gathered all that he had together, he tooke his journey into a farre countrey, and there wasted his substance with riotous living.
>
> (Luke 15:11-13)

This parable of the prodigal is continuously in the background o The Merchant. Twice Shylock specifically refers to it. The first tim he tells Jessica contemptuously:

> I am bid forth to supper Jessica,
> There are my keys:--but wherefore should I go?
> I am not bid for love, they flatter me,
> But yet I'll go in hate, to feed upon
> The prodigal Christian. Jessica my girl,
> Look to my house.
>
> (II.v.11-16)

> of judgment. But I say unto you: that who so ever is angry with his brother (unadvisedly) shall be in danger of judgment. And who so ever say unto his brother, Racha, shall be in danger of a cousel. But who so ever saith, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.
>
> (Matt. 5:21-2)

This passage, read as the Gospel for the sixth Sunday after Trinity (Prayer Book [1559], p. 144), is readily associated with the differenc between a Jew and a Christian. For Jesus is distinguishing between ob servance of the law and observance of the spirit. "Ye have heard" tha the act of murder is forbidden (in Exodus 20:13). "But I say" that fo Christians even the desire to kill or call someone fool is forbidden. In The Merchant, of course, the Christians actually hate Shylock as mu as he hates them.

[17] Richmond Noble, Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge, p. 277.

Here Shylock's tone of reprobation is unmistakable as he contrasts his own thrifty concern for his keys and for his house with the riotous living of the "prodigal Christians," who, as he sees it, flatter him by inviting him to supper in hopes of getting good terms for their loan. Shylock adds that he does not want even the sound of the riotous, feasting, prodigal "Christian fools" to violate his "sober house" by entering through his "house's ears":

> What are there masques? Hear you me, Jessica,
> Lock up my doors, and when you hear the drum
> And the vile squealing of the wry-neck's fife
> Clamber not you up to the casements then
> Nor thrust your head into the public street
> To gaze on Christian fools with varnish'd faces:
> But stop my house's ears, I mean my casements,
> Let not the sound of shallow fopp'ry enter
> My sober house.
> (II.v.28-36)

For Shylock lending money gratis is equivalent to prodigality. When Salerio asks, "tell us, do you hear whether Antonio have had any loss at sea or no?", Shylock answers by alluding to the parable of the prodigal son:

> There I have another bad match, a bankrupt, a prodigal,
> who dare scarce show his head on the Rialto, a beggar
> that was us'd to come so smug upon the mart: let him
> look to his bond! he was wont to call me usurer,
> let him look to his bond! he was wont to lend money
> for a Christian cur'sy, let him look to his bond!
> (III.i.39-44)

Clearly, here, Shylock's implication is that Antonio is a "prodigal" and a "bankrupt" because he lends for "Christian cur'sy" (courtesy, generosity, friendship, and charity), and that he the usurer is thrifty.

Bassanio is a self-acknowledged example of a prodigal. For in coming to Antonio he is willing to shoot another arrow over the house to find the one he has already lost even while acknowledging:

> 'Tis not unknown to you Antonio
> How much I have disabled mine estate,
> . . . . . .
> Wherein my time (something too prodigal)
> Hath left me gag'd.
> (I.i.122-3, 129-130)

Antonio also is intentionally prodigal with his love, for he is willing to "be rack'd even to the uttermost" (I.ii.181) for his prodigal "kinsman" (I.i.57). And again, the revelers find themselves without their masque simply because they are too careless to make adequate preparations:

> Lor. Nay, we will slink away in supper-time
> Disguise us at my lodging, and return
> All in an hour.
> Gra. We have not made good preparation.
> Sal. We have not spoke us yet of torch-bearers,--
> Sol. 'Tis vile unless it may be quaintly ordered,
> And better in my mind not undertook.
> (II.iv.1-7)

Even in his first description of Antonio's mercantile resources, Shylock alludes to Antonio's prodigality: "other ventures he hath squand'red abroad." Here the words squand'red abroad have been rightly but inadequately glossed as "scattered" and "dispersed."[18] For Shakespeare's only other use of squander is in opposition to wisdom and thrift. In As You Like It Jaques, envious of the wise fool's freedom and impunity "To blow on whom I please," tells Duke Senior:

> Invest me in my motley; give me leave
> To speak my mind, and I will through and through
> Cleanse the foul body of the infected world.
> (AYLI II.vii.58-60)

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[18] See A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: The Merchant of Venice, ed. Horace Howard Furness (Philadelphia, 1888), p. 35n. In the future I will refer to this edition as the Furness Variorum.

According to Jacques,

> The wise man's folly is anatomized
> Even by the squandering glances of the fool.
> (AYLI II.vii.56-57)

Thus, claims Jacques, if those claiming to be wise do not gather up the valuable corrections of the wise fool, their lack of thrift is worse than that of the fool who then squanders his glances anatomizing the folly of the seeming wise man. In view of this usage and Shylock's two specific allusions to the parable of the prodigal, then, squand'red abroad is a disparaging description of Antonio's hazardous sufficiency.

Thus, in Shylock's view, Bassanio, Antonio, and the Christians of Venice are prodigals and not brothers-in-need to whom the Old Testament obliges him to lend freely. And, as he sees it, the sufficiency of these prodigals is perilous not only because "there be . . . water-thieves, and land thieves" but because they are satisfied with uncalculating courtesy, spend-thrift rioting, and haphazard planning. Shylock fully expects heaven to bless him with the forfeited bond of these prodigals.

Friendship with Gentiles

Critics have long recognized love and friendship as important motifs in The Merchant.[19] Antonio comes to the assistance of his dear friend Bassanio, insisting that even his life is not too much to sacrifice for a friend (I.i.138 and III.ii.314-320). And when Portia asks Bassanio if it is his "dear friend that is thus in trouble?" (III.ii.290), Bassanio answers:

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[19] See the "Introduction" to the Arden Edition, pp. xlv-xlix.

> The dearest friend to me, the kindest man,
> The best-conditioned and unwearied spirit
> In doing courtesies: and one in whom
> The ancient Roman honour more appears
> Than any that draws breath in Italy.
> (III.ii.291-5)

Even Portia, by temporarily foregoing the marriage bed, shows deference to the noble bonds of friendship:

> Before a friend of this description
> Shall lose a hair through Bassanio's fault
> First, go with me to church, and call me wife,
> And then away to Venice to your friend:
> For never shall you lie by Portia's side
> With an unquiet soul.
> (III.ii.300-5)

One aspect of the friendship motif, however, is the conflict between lending money gratis to friends and lending money for interest to strangers. Even Shylock borrows freely from his countryman, Tubal:

> I cannot instantly raise up the gross
> Of full three thousand ducats: What of that?
> Tubal a wealthy Hebrew of my tribe
> Will furnish me.
> (I.iii.50-3)

But Shylock is not in the practice of lending freely to the Christians of Venice for he does not accept them as friends. Indignantly he recognizes himself in the traditional[20] role of a Jewish usurer amid hostile creditors, a stranger spurned by gentiles:

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[20] In an historical survey of the Judeo-Christian conflict over usury, R.J. Werblowsky suggests that the conflict between Jew and Christian in the Renaissance may have had historical causes which were economically beneficial to both races. Werblowsky writes:

> The biblical prohibition against usury reflects the simple economy of an agricultural society where loans were needed to provide immediate relief in moments of distress (e.g. failure of crops). With the development of a money economy, industry and trade, the ancient prohibitions became economically obsolete and (in part) morally irrelevant. Unable to disregard a plain biblical prohibition, Jewish practice

> Signior Antonio, many a time and oft
> In the Rialto you have rated me
> About my moneys and my usances:
> . . . . . .
> Well then, it now appears you need my help! . . .
> 'Shylock, we would have moneys,' you say so:
> You that did void your rheum upon my beard,
> And foot me as you spurn a stranger cur
> Over your threshold.
>
> (I.iii.101-3, 109-13)

Nor do Antonio and Bassanio look upon Shylock as a friend but as a stranger and an enemy who exacts interest without mercy. Bassanio admits to Portia: "I have engaged myself to a dear friend, Engaged my friend to his mere enemy" (III.ii.260-61). And Antonio demands that Shylock lend the three thousand ducats "to thine enemy," "for when did friendship take A breed for barren metal of his friend?" (I.iii.128-30)

Again, this distinction in The Merchant between lending to friends and lending to strangers has a Biblical basis. For both Jewish law[21] and the Old Testament make such a distinction between lending to aliens and lending to countrymen. The lesson from Deuteronomy which was assigned for morning prayers on March 23,[22] reads:

> evolved--against long resistance--the legal fiction known as hetter iska by which a loan is contracted in the form of a partnership. Although this procedure is considered legitimate for business transactions and investments, loans to a fellow man in need should be free of interest (Gemilut Hesed). The Catholic Church in the Middle Ages enforced a similar prohibition between Christians, and hence the Jews, being outside Christian society and its laws, when debarred from other occupations, were often forced into the role of moneylenders and usurers.

The Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion, ed. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky (New York, 1965), p. 394.

[21]Herbert Loewe notes that according to Deuteronomy 23:19-20, usury or neshek "is prohibited between Jew and Jew, but allowed to be used by a Jew to a foreigner." But according to Leviticus 25:36-7, both usury and interest (tarbit and marbit) "are forbidden to be used by Jew to Jew." A Rabbinic Anthology (New York, 1960), p. 450.

[22]"Index & Calendarium," Prayer Book (1559), p. 318.

> Thou shalt not hurt thy brother by usurie of money, nor by usurie of corne, nor by usurie of any thing that he may be hurt withall. Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usurie, but not unto thy brother: that the Lord thy God may blesse thee in all that thou settest thine hand to, in the land whither thou goest to possesse it. (Deut. 23:19-20)

The Bishops' Bible observes that this double standard existed for Jews in the Old Testament because they had not yet become kind-hearted and open to disinterested generosity: "Because they were a hard hearted people, therefore was this libertie given them for a time."[23]

In his conversation with Bassanio in The Merchant, Shylock has already given a number of signals which indicate that the "good Antonio" is not his friend but a competitor who is ruining him and his business, a prodigal who has many "ventures . . . squand'red abroad," and a gentile whose "sufficiency" does not come as God's providential reward but is in perilous "supposition." Bassanio, however, seems to be impressed with only the last few words of Shylock: ". . . the man is notwithstanding sufficient--three thousand ducats,--I think I may take his bond" (I.iii. 23-4). Thus Bassanio--apparently feeling gracious--invites Shylock to make the final arrangements for the loan tonight, "If it please you to dine with us" (I.iii.28). Shylock, however, answers with a tirade of Biblically oriented abuse:

> Yes, to smell pork, to eat of the habitation which your prophet the Nazarite conjured the devil into: I will buy with you, sell with you, talk with you, walk with you, and so following: But I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you.[24]

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[23]Gloss to Deuteronomy 23:20.

[24]I.iii.29-33. Possibly, this may be an aside, for as Dover Wilson notes, "It would be unlike the Jew to reveal his hate openly at

Here, Shylock's Biblical diction is again indicative of his religious, racial, and social contempt for Bassanio, Antonio, and the Christians of Venice. Even his non-Biblical diction is indicative of his scorn, for pork is represented not as a roasted pig or as food but as a thing, a "habitation" suitable for the devil to live in.

According to the Mosaic law and Talmudic tradition, the Lord directed Israelites to dissociate themselves from gentiles socially so that they would not be influenced by the idolatrous and unclean practices of foreigners. Chapter twenty of Leviticus, read at evening prayers on February 11,[25] commands the Israelites:

> Ye shall not walke in the maners of this nation,
> Which I cast out before you: for they committed
> all these things, and therefore I abhore them. . . .
> And therefore shall ye put difference betweene
> cleane beasts and uncleane. . . . Therefore shall
> ye be holy unto me: for I the Lorde am holy, and have
> severed you from other nations, that ye should be mine.
> (Lev. 20:23-26)

Shylock's reference to pork is based on an explicit dietary prohibition in Deuteronomy, read at evening prayers on March fourth:[26]

> Thou shalt eate no manner of abomination. . . .
> And also the swine, though he divideth the hoofe,
> yet he cheweth not cud, therefore is he uncleane
> unto you: ye shall not eate of the flesh of such.
> (Deut. 14:3,8)

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this stage," The Works of Shakespeare, ed. Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson (Cambridge, England, 1953). Subsequently, I refer to this edition as the N.C.S. Shylock, however, has already given Bassanio many subtle indications of his contempt, and later in this same scene his hatred is undisguised when he talks to Antonio in I.iii.101-124.

[25]"The New Christian Calendar, 1561," Prayer Book (1559),p.445.

[26]Prayer Book (1559), p. 48.

Thus, Shylock recognizes the invitation to dine with Antonio as an implicit invitation to disregard the traditional Jewish law regarding pork. The Elizabethan audience would also recognize the Biblical overtones of Shylock's contempt and would be familiar with this prohibition of pork because of their readings from the Old Testament and the liturgy of the Prayer Book.

Besides his indignation about the dietary law, Shylock also shows contempt in his reference to the pork which Jesus "conjured the devil into." The Biblical passage that Shylock here alludes to is recorded in all three synoptic Gospels: Matthew, 8:28-34; Mark, 5:1-17; and Luke, 8:26-37. Elizabethans would be familiar with the Matthean account since it was read publicly to them on the fourth Sunday after the Epiphany. The Prayer Book version of this Gospel reads:

> And when he was come to the other side into the country of the Gergesites, there met with him .ii. possessed of devils, which came out of the graves, and were out of measure fierce, so that no man might go by that way. And behold, they cried out saying: O Jesu, thou Son of God, what have we to do with thee? art thou come hither to torment us before the time? And there was a good way off from them a herd of swine, feeding. So the devils besought him, saying: If thou cast us out, suffer us to go into the herd of swine. And he said unto them: Go your ways. Then went they out, and departed into the herd of swine. And behold, the whole herd of swine was carried headlong into the sea, and perished in the waters.[27]

Apparently, Shylock considers this casting of the devil into the swine as the Nazarite Prophet's tacit acknowledgment of the traditional prohibition against pork. And so he is contemptuous because Christians eat the food which even their own "prophet" despised when he "conjured

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[27] Prayer Book (1559), p. 92.

the devil into" it. As Shylock sees it, Bassanio and the Christians acknowledge neither the Old Testament prohibition, a Jew's traditional contempt for swine, the contempt Jesus had for pork, nor the fact that their "prophet" was a Jew.

Although the word prophet is not generally a derogatory word when used in reference to Jesus,[28] Shylock seems to be suggesting that Jesus is merely one of the many prophets who happened to be a conjurer of devils. Moreover, for him, this prophet is not "my" or "our" prophet but "your" prophet. He is neither a major prophet like Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Ezekiel, nor a minor prophet like Amos, Micah, Habakkuk, or Malachi, but an unnamed "Nazarite." The distinction between Nazarite and Nazarene[29] would not indicate Shylock's contempt since Jesus is called a "Nazarite" in all of the English translations before the King James version in 1611.[30] But Shylock's contemptuous use of the word is accurate,

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[28]Thus, Jesus refers to himself as a prophet: "And when he came into his owne countrey, he taught them in their Synagogue. . . . And they were offended in him. But Jesus said unto them, A Prophet is not without honour, save in his owne countrey" (Matthew 13:57).

[29]Furness notes that "The use of this word instead of Nazarene is at first sight puzzling. . . . Samson was a Nazarite, and is always correctly so called by Milton in his Samson Agonistes. And John the Baptist was a Nazarite. Shylock must have known perfectly well that the Prophet who conjured the devil into the swine was not a Nazarite, but a Nazarene" (Furness Variorum, 36n). By Nazarite Shylock means a person from Nazareth. But the primary meaning of Nazarite in the Old Testament (Amos 2:11; Judges 13:5, 7; 16:17; Numbers 6:1-27; 1 Maccabees 3:49-53) is that of one consecrated to God by special vows to drink no wine, to leave the hair uncut, to avoid contact with the dead, and to eat no unclean foods. See Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings, revised by Frederick C. Grant and H. H. Rowley (New York, 1963), p. 691.

[30]The phrase, "He shall be called a Nazarite" (Matt. 2:23), appears in Tyndale's version (1534), Myles Coverdale's (1534), Matthews' (1537), Taverner's (1539), Cranmer's (1539), the Bishops' Bible (1585), the Geneva Bible (1587), and the Rheims New Testament (1582). See the Furness Variorum, 36n.

for simply being an inhabitant of the insignificant town of Nazareth carries Biblical overtones of contempt. The clearest example of this is in the Gospel according to St. John:

> Philip findeth Nathanael, and saith unto him, We have founde him of whome Moses in the lawe and the Prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth the sonne of Joseph. And Nathanael said unto him, Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth? Philip saith unto him, Come and see.
> (John 1:45-6)

The Biblical concordance appended to the Geneva Bible, 1583, also notes that it was the "devill" who "confesseth Christ to be of Nazaret," while "The inhabitants regarded not their Prophete Jesus, but would have cast him headlong from their hill."[31]

When Shylock says "I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you" (I.iii.32-33), he is alluding not only to the dietary law regarding pork but also to the traditional Mosaic law which forbids Jews to associate with gentiles. He eventually says, "I'll go in hate, to feed upon the prodigal" (II.v.14-5), but here in the first act, he makes a distinction between his willingness to do business, i.e. to "buy . . . sell . . . talk . . . and walk" (I.iii.31) with the Christians and his unwillingness to socialize, that is, to eat, drink, and pray with them. The Biblical passage from Deuteronomy (7:2-4) is one of of the key passages which Rabbinic literature traditionally cites to demonstrate the barriers that Israelites should erect in order to prevent socializing which could lead to intermarriage with gentiles and to idolatry. This passage, read at evening prayers on the fourth Sunday after Easter and

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[31] Geneva Bible, 1583, "The Second Alphabet" under the word Nazareth.

again at evening prayers on the seventeenth day of February,[32] reads as follows:

> When the Lord thy God shall bring thee into the lande whither thou goest to possesse it, and hath cast out many nations before thee . . . make no covenant with them, nor have any compassion on them. Thou shalt make no marriages with them. . . . Ye shall overthrowe their altars, and breake downe their pillars, and cut downe their groves, and burne their graven images with fire. For thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God: the Lorde thy God hath chosen thee to be a speciall people unto himselfe, above all nations that are upon the earth.
>
> (Deuteronomy 7:1-7)

Originally, this law of separation from gentiles (Hukkat Ha-Hoyyim)[33] extended to the seven Canaanite nations; but as the Jews dispersed to other nations, Rabbinic interpretations extended the ban to include all non-Jewish peoples and their morally "unclean" practices.

The Talmudic interpretation of the Old Testament is filled with prohibitions against unclean foods, and in some cases the law was so stringent that eating with gentiles was forbidden even when it did not infringe on the dietary laws. For example, the Mishna, Abodah Zarah explains simply "That the cooked foods of heathens are prohibited" by Deuteronomy 2:28:

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[32]"The New Calendar, 1561," Prayer Book (1559), pp. 437, 445.

[33]"Statute of the Gentile." See "Gentiles" in The Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion, ed. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky, p. 155; and "Assimilation," p. 46. The Talmudic tract Avodah Zarah (on idol worship) in the Mishnah order of Nezikin specifically regulates the religious, social, and commercial intercourse between Jews and heathens. But as Werblowsky notes: "many authorities classified Christianity as idolatry (because of its doctrines of the incarnation and the eucharist, and its use of images)," (p. 198). Even the Hebrew word for nation, which designated any nation in the Bible including Israel, eventually "came to mean the non-Jewish nations in general and finally a member of any such nation, i.e., the non-Jew" (p. 162).

> R. Hiyya b. Abba said in the name of R. Johanan: Scripture states, Thou shalt sell me food for money that I may eat, and give me water for money that I may drink. A comparison is to be drawn with water--as only water which has undergone no change [is permitted to Jews] so also must the food have undergone no change [at the hand of heathens]. . . .
>
> R. Assi said in the name of Rab: Small fish when salted [by heathens] do not come within [the law of what is prohibited]. . . . If, however, a heathen made them into a pie of fish-hash it is prohibited. This is obvious! . . .
>
> R. Berona said in the name of Rab: If a heathen set fire to uncleared ground, all the [roasted] locusts found in the uncleared ground are prohibited. How is this to be understood? . . . [the true reason was] certainly because he could not distinguish between the clean and unclean species, and the incident actually happened with a heathen.[34]

Drinking wine with gentiles was strictly forbidden because wine was closely associated with the idolatrous rituals of heathens. The Talmud reads:

> Gemara. Whence do we deduce [the prohibition of] wine?--Rabbah b. Abbuha said: From the scriptural verse which says, who did eat the fat of their sacrifices, and drank the wine of their drink-offerings (Deut. 32:38); as [heathens'] sacrifice is forbidden as to deriving any benefit, so also their wine is forbidden.[35]

Werblowsky comments on this Talmudic tradition:

> As a result of the ancient link between w[ine] and idolatrous ritual, a strict prohibition has been enforced against partaking of w[ine] prepared by Gentiles (yein neseka); when the original reason became obsolete the prohibition was maintained (setam yeinam) in order to prevent conviviality--leading to intermarriage--between Jews and gentiles.[36]

Thus, the indignity of Shylock's daughter marrying a Christian and Shylock's confused anguish when he utters, "My daughter! O my ducats!"

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[34] The Babylonian Talmud, ed. Rabbi Dr. I. Epstein (London, 1935), Abodah Zarah, 37b and 38a, pp. 183-5. The phrases in brackets are those of the Talmud editor.

[35] The Babylonian Talmud, Abodah Zarah, 29b, p. 147.

[36] The Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion, p. 403.

(II.viii.15), are more understandable, then, in the light of the Old Testament and Talmudic prohibitions and safeguards against marrying gentiles. Moreover, the Pentateuch, in the name of God, explicitly reinforces these prohibitions with material rewards and punishments. The Book of Joshua, read at evening prayers on the first Sunday after Trinity,[37] explains:

> Behold, I have devided unto you by lot, these nations that remaine, to be an inheritance for your tribes. . . . Be ye therefore of good courage, that ye keepe & do all that is written in the booke of the lawe of Moses, that ye bowe not aside therefrom, to the right hand, nor to the left. Neither companie with these nations, that is, with them that are left with you, neither make mention of the name of their goddes, nor cause to sweare by them, neither serve them, nor bowe your selves unto them. . . . Els, if ye goe backe. . . and shal make marriages with them, and goe in unto them, and they to you: Be ye sure that the Lorde your God will no more cast out all these nations from before you: but they shal be snares and trappes unto you, and scourges in your sides, and thornes in your eyes, untill ye perish.
>
> (Joshua 23:4, 6-7, 12-13)

Shylock's apprehensions about pork, eating and drinking with gentiles, praying with them, and marrying a gentile are, then, supported by Talmudic tradition; but they are also thoughts that an audience of Christians would recognize and associate with a Jew because of their readings from the Old Testament.

Our Sacred Nation and the Fawning Publican

Shylock's contempt for Christians is also based on his belief that God favors him as a chosen descendent of a sacred nation, whereas Antonio resembles a fawning publican. When Shylock is about to meet

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[37]"The New Calendar, 1561," Prayer Book (1559), p. 314.

Antonio on the stage for the first time, his true feelings about Antonio are undisguised as he addresses the audience in an aside:

> How like a fawning publican he looks!
> I hate him for he is a Christian:
> But more, for that in low simplicity
> He lends out money gratis, and brings down
> The rate of usance here with us in Venice.
> If I can catch him once upon the hip,
> I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him.
> He hates our sacred nation, and he rails
> (Even there where merchants most do congregate)
> On me, my bargains, and my well-won thrift,
> Which he calls interest: cursed be my tribe
> If I forgive him!
>
> (I.iii.35-47)

Again, Shylock's language reflects a highly emotional montage of scriptural, religious, racial, and economic images and allusions. Economically, Shylock claims that Antonio has been destroying his market by lending money "gratis" and bringing down the "rate of usance." He has also been taking away his prospective clients by berating his "bargains" and well-earned "thrift" in the Rialto. The Scriptural, religious, and racial aspects of Shylock's aside are made up of the following words and phrases: fawning publican, I hate him . . . a Christian, low simplicity, feed fat the ancient grudge, our sacred nation, thrift, and cursed be my tribe if I forgive him.

When Shylock refers to "our sacred nation" he is alluding to his special claim on God's providential blessings and to the Old Testament "covenant," or promise, given to Abraham and his descendents. In the Bible the Israelites are called a holy people because God singled out Abraham as the "father of many nations" (Genesis 17:4). He promised to make him and his descendents numerous and powerful:

> I will multiplie thy seede as the starres of heaven,
> and as the sand which is upon the sea side, and thy

> seede shall possess the gates of his enemies.
> (Genesis 22:17)

And he will give them the land of the Canaanite nations for their inheritance:

> Behold, I have devided unto you by lot, these nations that remaine, to be an inheritance for your tribes.
> (Joshua 23:4)

Although scripture promises only the land of Canaan, "Jewish theology had explained this promise as containing an assurance of God that his elect people would have world dominion in the Messianic end-time."[38] Thus, in the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, Saint Paul refers to "the promise" given to "our father Abraham" "that he should be the heire of the world" (Romans 4:12-13).

Shylock, however, looks upon the promise as his claim to material blessings to be received in this life, in Venice, and through his business of usury. For when he thinks of his tribe and his sacred nation, he immediately thinks of his rate of usance and the ancient grudge he bears for one who rails on his bargains and well won thrift. Here Shylock is making the kind of logical connection that is often done in Old Testament descriptions of the traffic between Jew and Gentile. Much of his hope for material blessings and financial success is epitomized by Deuteronomy, read at evening prayers on February twenty-eighth:[39]

> For the Lorde thy God hath blessed thee, as he hath promised thee, and thou shalt lend unto many nations, but thou thy selfe shalt not borowe: and thou shalt reigne over many nations, and they shall not reigne over thee.
> (Deut. 15:6)

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[38] A Theological Word Book of the Bible, ed. Alan Richardson (New York, 1955), p. 177.

[39] "The New Calendar, 1561," Prayer Book (1559), p. 445.

Shylock's references to "our sacred nation," "my tribe," "Father Abram" (I.iii.156), and "this Jacob from our holy Abram" (I.iii.67), then, imply his personal ambition and his tribal expectations of success over Antonio and the Christians. Domination over Antonio is the fulfillment of the promise given to "Father Abram" and "our sacred nation": " . . thou shalt lend unto many nations . . . thou shalt reigne over many nations, and they shall not reigne over thee." Shylock expects material blessings from God through usury.

As Shylock sees it, Antonio's "low simplicity" is the deceitful ruse of a "fawning publican" who is intentionally trying to ruin him, his business, and his "sacred nation." In "low simplicity" Antonio feigns compassion so that others will gratefully and readily accept his loans thinking that he understands their needs and loves them. But actually, Antonio's "low simplicity" is a disguised hatred, claims Shylock, for "He hates our sacred nation" and lends money gratis in order to bring down the rate of usance "here with us in Venice."

Some critics[40] have identified Shylock's "fawning publican" with

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[40]See, for example, Furness Variorum, pp. 37n and 38n; also, Dover Wilson, N.C.S. Karl Elze notes that,

> bei Lucas 18, 10-14 das "fawning" des Zollners nicht den Menschen, sondern Gott gegenuber Statt findet. Eine Demuthigung und Zerknirschung vor Gott, vie sie dort der sich an die Brust schlagende Zollner mit dem Ausrufe: Gott sei mir Sunder gnadig! an den Tag legt, kennt und begreift Shylock--ja der Mosaismus uberhaupt--nicht. . . . Von diesem Standpunkte aus ist der vor Gott kriechende und um Gnade bettelnde Zollner Shylock zuwider.
>
> [In Luke 18:10-14 the "fawning" publican humbles himself before God, not man. Neither Shylock nor even the Mosaic law itself can understand such humility and contrition before God. . . . From this point of view the publican fawning on God and begging for mercy was very repugnant to Shylock.]

Karl Elze, Shakespeare Jahrbuch, XI (1876), 276.

the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican because the publican humbled himself:

> And the Publicane standing a farre off, woulde not lift up his eyes to heaven: but smote upon his breast, saying, God be mercifull to me a sinner.
> (Luke 18:13)

It is true that Elizabethans were familiar with this parable since it was read as the Gospel for the eleventh Sunday after Trinity.[41] But the whole purpose of this parable is to show that the repentant publican is justified, while the scribes and pharisees who "trusted in themselves . . . and despised others" were not justified. Jesus concludes by praising the humbled publican:

> I tel you, this man departed home to his house justified rather then the other: for every one that exalteth him selfe shalbe brought lowe: and he that humbleth him selfe, shalbe exalted. (Luke 18:14)

Since Shylock looks upon Antonio as a prodigal, he would be willing to call him a sinner, but he would hardly be willing to associate Antonio with the humbled man who "shalbe exalted." On the contrary, Shylock repeatedly demands his rights and expects himself to be exalted not only before man but before God:

> What judgment shall I dread doing no wrong?
> (IV.i.89)

> My deeds upon my head! (IV.i.202)

> I'll have my bond, speak not against my bond . . .
> The duke shall grant me justice.
> (III.iii.4, 8)

> A Daniel come to judgment: yea a Daniel!
> O wise young judge how I do honour thee!
> (IV.i.219-20)

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[41] Prayer Book (1559), p. 148.

Other critics[42] have explained publican in its primary sense as a tax collector during the Roman occupation of Israel. According to Biblical scholars, the Jewish contempt for a publican in the New Testament is "partly due to his being a servant of the hated Roman government" and partly due to his representing a system which was "a direct incentive to dishonesty," especially in a neglected and ill-governed province."[43] In this sense, then, Shylock would be calling Antonio a "publican" because, like the hated tax collectors who robbed the Jews of their lawful gains during Roman occupation, Antonio also is a hated gentile trying to rob him of his "well-won thrift."

This explanation of publican is plausible because it reflects Shylock's fear of being robbed and his antagonism toward the gentiles. But it does not account for the fact that Shylock calls Antonio a "fawning" publican rather than a powerful representative of a foreign government. Moreover, the meaning of fawning is clear, for in the plays of Shakespeare it is always associated with base, cringing, smiling submission and usually with a dog image and with intentions of deceit. Some examples from the early plays are those written about the same time as The Merchant are:

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[42]Clarendon (Variorum edition of The Merchant, 1883) suggests that Shylock might have in mind "The Publicani, or farmers of taxes, under the Roman government" but notes that the Roman tax collectors "were much more likely to treat the Jews with insolence than servility" (Furness Variorum, p. 37n). John Russell Brown suggests that this "primary sense of publican may be correct, for Antonio would beg a favour as one unused to it" (Arden Edition, p. 23n).

[43]A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings (London, 1902), p. 172. The revised editor notes that "In one particular year the provincials of Asia had to pay the taxes three times over" (A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings, revised by Frederick C. Grant and H. H. Rowley [New York, 1963], p. 824).

O Buckingham, take heed of yonder dog!
Look, when he fawns, he bites.
(Richard III I.iii.290-1)

Yet, spaniel-like the more she spurns my love,
The more it grows, and fawneth on her still.
(Two Gentlemen IV.ii.14-5)

Go, base intruder! overweening slave!
Bestow thy fawning smiles on equal mates.
(Two Gentlemen III.i.157-8)

. . . and wilt thou, pupil-like,
Take thy correction mildly, kiss the rod,
And fawn on rage with base humility?
(Richard II V.i.31-3)

This fawning greyhound then did proffer me!
(I Henry IV I.iii.252)

I am your spaniel; and, Demetrius,
The more you beat me, I will fawn on you.
(MND II.i.204-5)

If thou dost bend and pray and fawn for him,
I spurn thee like a cur.
(Caesar III.i.45)

You show'd your teeth like apes, and fawn'd like hounds.
(Caesar V.i.44)

In comparing Antonio to a "fawning publican," it would seem that Shylock is alluding to a New Testament type and using words that have specific connotations of contempt familiar to Elizabethans who read the Bible and heard it in the liturgy daily. A publican in the New Testament is a man who was regarded with contempt by all the Scribes, Pharisees, and upright Jews. The Gospel for the third Sunday after Trinity in the Prayer Book (1559) reads:

> Then resorted unto him all the Publicans and sinners, for to hear him. And the Pharisees and Scribes murmured, saying: He receiveth sinners, and eateth with them.
> (Luke 15:1)

Throughout the Gospels the word publican is habitually coupled with

heathen, sinner, and harlot--words of the deepest contempt:

> . . . let him bee unto thee as an heathen man and a publicane. (Matt. 18:17)

> . . . behold, many publicanes also and sinners came, and sate downe with Jesus and his disciples.
> (Matt. 9:10; also Luke 5:30, Mark 2:15)

> Behold a man gluttonous, and a wine bibber, and a friende unto Publicanes and sinners.
> (Matt. 11:19; also Luke 7:34)

> Jesus said . . . the Publicanes and the harlots go into the kingdome of God before you.
> (Matt. 21:31)

> . . . the publicanes and harlots beleeved him.
> (Matt. 21:32)

As Shylock sees him, then, Antonio is "fawning" because, like the cur that will "kiss the rod and fawn on rage with base humility," Antonio has "squandered" his money abroad and throughout Venice on prodigals like himself and now comes bankrupt, begging money, and trying to ingratiate himself with a wealthy and powerful enemy. And Shylock calls Antonio a "publican" because he sees him as one with the contemptible sinners and harlots of the New Testament who--now smiling and fawning before this chosen descendent of "our holy Abram"--would yet rob him and "our sacred nation" of their well-won thrift.

"The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose"

For Antonio, usury is not thrift but theft; a man does not steal from his friend. Angrily Antonio tells Shylock:

> If thou wilt lend this money, lend it not
> As to thy friends, for when did friendship take
> A breed for barren metal of his friend?
> But lend it rather to thine enemy,

> Who if he break, thou may'st with better face
> Exact the penalty.
>
> (I.iii.127-32)

From the first, Antonio makes his opposition clear by alluding to Aristotle's argument against usury:

> Shylock, albeit I neither lend nor borrow
> By taking nor giving of excess,
> Yet to supply the ripe wants of my friend
> I'll break that custom.[44]

Antonio's reference to taking and giving "excess" of money constitutes one of the principal arguments against usury in the Renaissance, comes ultimately from Aristotle, and can be found in nearly every Elizabethan sermon and pamphlet against usury. For, next to the Bible and the Church Fathers; the authority of Aristotle was so highly esteemed that his proof from reason was one of the first to be quoted. In 1578, for example, Phillippus Caesar writes that usury is "ill encrease, because Usurers make that to fructifie whiche is fruities, which by the witnes of Ethnikes is contrarie to nature." The whole passage has overtones of the exchange between Antonio and Shylock:

> Now consider how greate is the blindenesse, or rather the madnesse of men in these dotyng daies of this worlde, that to a thyng fruitlesse, barren, without seede, without life, will ascribe generation: and contrary too nature and common sense, will make that to engender which being without

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[44] The Merchant I.iii.56-9. Aristotle contends that "There are two sorts of wealth getting. . . . The most hated sort, and with the greatest reason, is usury, which makes a gain out of money itself, and not from the natural object of it. For money was intended to be used in exchange, but not to increase at interest. And this term interest, which means the birth of money from money, is applied to the breeding of money because the offspring resembles the parent. Wherefore of all modes of getting wealth this is the most unnatural" (Aristotle, Great Books of the Western World, "Politics," trans. by Benjamin Jowett [Chicago, 1952], 1258b, 1-7).

> by no waie can encrease. And therefore Aristotle in Ethnike; and without all knowledge of Christianity, for this cause dooeth pronounce Usurie to bee a thing detestable, and to be abhorred. His wordes are these: "By good reason hath Usurie come into the hatred of man, because money is only reaped, and is not referred to the exchaunge of thynges, for whiche cause it was first invented. For contrarie to the course of nature, Usurie doeth augment and increase money, from whiche it is so called.[45]

According to this argument, then, usury is immoral because it takes "excess" or increase of money from money which is contrary to the law of natural generation established by God. Money cannot "breed" or "fructifie."

Shylock, however, is fully confident about the righteousness of his lending and borrowing "Upon advantage" (I.iii.65), anticipates success and dominion over the prodigal Christians, and defends usury by Scriptural argument. For him usury is not theft but thrift. When Antonio alludes to the Aristotelian argument against usury, "I neither lend nor borrow / By taking nor giving of excess," Shylock--first musing and then speaking like a teacher schooling his errant pupil in the inadequacies of proofs taken from reason--appeals to Scripture:

> Shy. Me thoughts you said, you neither lend nor borrow
> Upon advantage.
> Ant. I do never use it.
> Shy. When Jacob graz'd his uncle Laban's sheep,--
> (I.iii.64-6)

Shylock's version of Jacob outwitting Laban is a fitting climax to Act One, for it exemplifies his views on usury, theft, deceit, ownership, justice, God's blessing, thrift, foreigners, and revenge. Jacob

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[45] Phillippus Caesar, A General Discourse Against the Damnable Sect of Usurers, 1578 (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1950), reel 413, pp. 5v-6.

is Shylock's exemplar, and Psalm 146, read at evening prayers on the thirtieth day of each month,[46] speaks accurately for his feelings at this point: "Blessed is he unto whom the God of Jacob is an ayde."

In the Bible Jacob is not merely the descendent of Abraham and Isaac, he is also the "supplanter,"[47] or trickster, who robbed his first-born twin brother of his birthright and thereby received the blessings promised to Abraham and his seed. Shylock gleefully prefaces his story by calling Antonio's attention to Jacob's theft of the paternal blessing:

> When Jacob graz'd his uncle Laban's sheep,--
> This Jacob from our holy Abram was
> (As his wise mother wrought in his behalf)
> The third possessor: Ay, he was the third.
> (I.iii.66-9)

Shylock is referring to Chapters twenty-five and twenty-seven of the Book of Genesis.

Even Jacob's name is symbolic of his ambition to supplant the prodigal Esau. According to Genesis, Chapter twenty-five, read at morning prayers each year on January fourteenth,[48] Jacob's ambition is first suggested by the fact that he was born with "his hand holding Essau by the heele, and his name was called Jacob."[49] Rebecca is told:

> And the Lorde saide unto her, There are two maner of people in thy womb, and two nations shalbe devided out of thy bowels: and the one nation shalbe mightier than the other: and the elder shalbe servant unto the younger.
> (Genesis 25:23)

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[46]"Index & Calendarium," Prayer Book (1559), p. 311.

[47]"The First Table" appended to the Geneva Bible (1583) notes that "Jaakob" means "a supplanter, or deceiver."

[48]"Index & Calendarium," Prayer Book (1559), p. 317.

[49]Genesis 25:26. Esau later exclaims, "Is not he rightly named Jacob? for he hath undermined me nowe two times" (Genesis 27:36).

The same chapter gives another example of Jacob's ambition and his readiness to take advantage of his brother when he swindles Esau into selling his birthright for some "pottage":

> . . . and Easau came from the fielde, and was faint. And Esau said to Jacob, feede me, I pray thee, with that same red pottage: for I am faint. . . . And Jacob sayd, Sell me this day thy byrthright. Esau said, Loe, I am at the point to die, and what profite shall this byrthright doe me? Jacob answered, sweare to me then this day. And he sware to him, and sold his byrthright unto Jacob.
>
> (Genesis 25:29-33)

Shylock's choice of Jacob as his Biblical exemplar is fitting, for he also expects supremacy.

In the Book of Genesis, the next example of Jacob's ambition and cunning is the one that Shylock notes with admiration. With the assistance of "his wise mother," Jacob deceives his blind father on his deathbed, claims to be Esau, obtains Isaac's blessing for the first born, and thus becomes "The third possessor: Ay, he was the third." Chapter twenty-seven of Genesis, read at morning prayers each year on the fifteenth of January,[50] gives the following account:

> And Isaac asked him, Art thou my sonne Esau? And he said, That I am. Then saide he, Bring me, and let me eate of my sones venison, that my soule may blesse thee. And hee brought him, and he ate: and hee brought him wine also, and he dranke. And his father, Isaac said unto him, come neere, and kisse me, my sonne. And he went unto him, and kissed him: and he smelled the savour of his raiment, and blessed him, and saide, See, the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed. God give thee of the dewe of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, and plentie of corn and wine. People be thy servantes, and nations bowe to thee: be Lorde over thy brethren, and thy mothers children stoupe with reverence unto thee: cursed be he that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee.
>
> (Genesis 27:24-28)

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[50] "Index & Calendarium," Prayer Book (1559), p. 317.

In the Book of Genesis, Jacob's deceit and theft of the first born's inheritance is always referred to as his obtaining the paternal blessing: "I pray thee, sit and eate of my venison, that thy soule may bless me" (Genesis 27:19; also see 27:10, 13, 27, 30, 32, 33, and 35). But Shylock's emphatic substitution of the word possessor for the Biblical word blessing suggests his hierarchy of values, for he evaluates blessings only by the material wealth that he can possess. As Shylock sees and emulates him, then, Jacob is the Biblical type for the shrewd and deceitful man who takes advantage of the ignorant and thrives on gulls, prodigals, and impoverished aristocrats.

After his prefacing remark about Jacob's being a "possessor," Shylock develops the story of Jacob's outwitting his uncle Laban. This story is particularly appropriate as a Biblical defense of Shylock's practice of usury and of his secret intentions toward Antonio. According to Genesis Jacob had finally met an equal competitor in Laban. Laban deceived him into marrying Leah before Rachel, and he tricked him into working fourteen years without wages. But Jacob takes his revenge by bargaining to work an additional seven years, during which time he changed the fleece of the lambs born of his uncle's "fulsome ewes." Genesis, read at morning prayers each year on the seventeenth of January,[51] gives the following account of Jacob using his skill in breeding sheep to take advantage of Laban:

> And he saide, what shall I then give thee? And Jacob answered, Thou shalt give mee nothing at all: if thou wilt doe this thing for mee, then will I turne againe, feede thy sheepe, and keep them.

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[51] "Index & Calendarium," Prayer Book (1559), p. 317.

> I will go about all thy flockes this day, separate from them all the cattel that are spotted and of divers colours: and all the black amoung the sheepe, and the partie and the spotted among the kiddes, the same shalbe my reward.
> So shall my righteousnesse answere for me in time to come: for it shall come for my reward before thy face. And everyone that is not specked and party amongst the goates, and blacke amongst the sheepe, let it be counted theft in me.
> And Laban said, Goe to, would God it might be according to thy saying.
> Therefore he took out the same day the hee goates that were ringstraked, and of diverse colours, and all the shee goates that were spotted and coloured, and al that had white in them, and all the black amongst the sheepe, and put them in the keeping of his sonnes. . . .
> Jacob took rods of greene popular, hasell, and chessenut trees, and pilled white strakes in them, and made the white appeare in the roddes,
> And put the roddes which he had pilled, before the sheepe, in the gutters and watering troughes when the sheepe came to drinke, that they should conceive when they came to drinke.
> And the Sheepe conceived before the rods, and brought foorth lambes ringstraked, spotted, and partie.
> And Jacob did separate these lambs, and turned the faces of the sheepe, which were in the flocke of Laban, toward these ringstraked, and all manner of blacke: and so put his owne flockes by themselves, and put them not with Laban's cattell.
> And in every conceiving time of the stronger cattel, Jacob layde the rods before the eyes of the cattell in the gutters, namely that they conceive before the rods.
> But when the cattell were feeble he put them not in: and so the feebler were Labans and the stronger Jacobs.
> And the man increased exceedingly, and had much cattell, and mayde servants, and men servants, and camels and asses.
> And he heard the wordes of Laban's sonnes, saying Jacob hath taken away all that was our fathers, and of our fathers goods hath hee gotten all his glorie.
> And Jacob behelde the countenance of Laban, and beholde, it was not towards him as it was wont to be.
> And the Lorde sayde unto Jacob, turne againe into the lande of thy fathers, and to thy kindred and I will be with thee.
> (Genesis 30:31-43, 31:1-3)

Although this passage is lengthy, it is important to see it in full. For Shylock, like Jacob, intends to come to an agreement with Antonio and so demonstrate his righteousness; "I would be friends with you, and have your love," says Shylock (I.iii.134). Moreover, Shylock sees this Biblical story as the precedent and defense of usury.

Shylock argues that Jacob was blessed by God because he used his skill in sheep breeding to take advantage of Laban. First, there is the agreement in which Jacob and Laban,

> were compromis'd
> That all the eanlings which were streak'd and pied
> Should fall as Jacob's hire.
> (I.iii.73-5)

Then "The Skilful shepherd" (I.iii.79) sets out, not to take interest--"No, not take interest, not as you would say Directly int'rest" (I.iii.71-2)--but to exact occult compensation, or "recompense of iniurie" as the note in the Bishops' Bible calls it.[52] Nor is this theft, argues Shylock, for Jacob is "The skilful shepherd" who knew how and when to put the "certain wands" before the conceiving ewes. And just as he, Shylock, uses his skill with money "Upon advantage" (I.iii.65), so did Jacob, to his own advantage, use his skill and superior knowledge of sheep breeding to change the fleece of the lambs. Thus, neither his own skill at taking interest nor the "venture" of this "skilful shepherd" should be called theft. They are thrift, concludes Shylock:

> This was a way to thrive, and he was blest:
> And thrift is blessing if men steal it not.
> (I.iii.84-5)

At this point, however, Antonio objects. The generation of sheep is a natural process and therefore lies in God's power. Admittedly, Jacob is not a thief. But he is not a thief for the reasons that Shylock has presented, for Shylock has not given the complete Biblical explanation. As the gloss in the Bishops' Bible notes,

> It is not lawfull by fraude to seeke recompense of

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[52] The Bishops' Bible, gloss to Genesis 30:37, "Jacob took rods."

> iniurie: therefore Moses sheweth afterwarde that God thus instructed Jacob.[53]

Thus, Antonio contends that,

> This was a venture sir that Jacob serv'd for,
> A thing not in his power to bring to pass
> But sway'd and fashion'd by the hand of heaven.
> (I.iii.86-8)

The Biblical passage that Antonio is alluding to comes only a few verses after Shylock's passage. In this passage Jacob tells the angry sons of Laban:

> The Lorde has taken thy fathers cattel and given them to me. (Genesis 31:9)

Thus, argues Antonio (and as the glosses to the Bishops' Bible repeatedly point out),[54] this "venture" of Jacob was not his doing but was "sway'd and fashion'd by the hand of heaven."

Moreover, argues Antonio, Shylock's gold and silver do not increase by the natural generation proper to animals, so why has Shylock introduced into their discussion of lending and borrowing "Upon advantage" a Biblical story about Jacob and the workings of Divine Providence?

> Was this inserted to make interest good?
> Or is your gold and silver ewes and rams?
> (I.iii.89-90)

Shylock replies: "I cannot tell, I make it breed as fast" (I.iii.91).

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[53] The Bishops' Bible, gloss to Genesis 30:37.

[54] Commenting on Jacob's lies to his dying father and his theft of the paternal blessing and birthright, the Bishops' Bible says that "This subtill dealing of Rebecca and Jacob with Isaac considered by itself, is blameworthy: but if it be referred to the will of God and the setting foorth of his decree, it is commendable" (gloss to Genesis 27:19). Several verses later, the gloss reads, "We must not so much beholde the outwarde doings here, as the providence of God, who would by such weaknesses have his election declared" (Genesis 27:26).

Beneath this reply is Shylock's subtle rhetorical argument: who am I to say that God blesses the ewes and rams of "The skilful shepherd" but not "my moneys and my usances" (I.iii.103) when both show equal increase? Here Shylock gives expression to one of the fundamental differences between him and Antonio. For Shylock, increase and thrift are the only signs of God's blessing and God's approval.[55] While for Antonio, who ultimately thrives and increases, it is giving and receiving out of love and friendship that are worthy of God's blessing and God's approval. Antonio answers Shylock with a Biblical allusion adapted ad personam:

> Mark you this Bassanio,
> The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose,--
> An evil soul producing holy witness
> Is like a villain with a smiling cheek,
> A goodly apple rotten at the heart.
> O what a goodly outside falsehood hath!
> (I.iii.92-7)

Like the devil who quoted Psalm 91 and tempted Jesus with Scriptural arguments to cast himself from the pinnacle of the temple, Shylock is "an evil soul producing witness" in support of "falsehood." In the

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[55]This doctrine, among other things, has led some critics to a consideration of Shylock as a Puritan or as one of the many aliens living in London, "French and Dutch refugees, who, strong Huguenots, lived under the influence of the Old Testament" (Andrew Tretiak, "The Merchant of Venice and the 'Alien' Question," Review of English Studies, V [1929], 404). Paul Siegel speaks of these Puritans:

> Like the Old Testament Jews, they thought of themselves as an elect, a chosen people, and looked upon the Anglican Church as idolatrous. They in turn were regarded as a minority of foreigners, who had imported their religion from Geneva and adopted a strange attire and strange manners. Such similarities made it possible for Shakespeare to suggest that Jewish money-lenders and Puritan usurers were kindred spirits in their villainy and in their comical grotesqueness.

(Paul N. Siegel, "Shylock the Puritan," Columbia University Forum, V [Fall, 1962], 15). Thomas Wilson calls these Puritans "dissembling gospellers" because they often defended usury from Biblical texts: "and touching this sin of usury none do more openly offend in this behalf than do these counterfeit professors of this pure religion" (A Discourse Uppon Usurye, 1572).

second temptation of Jesus in the desert, read as the Gospel for the liturgy of the first Sunday in Lent,[56] Saint Matthew tells how,

> Then the devil taketh him up into the holy citie, and setteth him on a pinacle of the holy temple, And sayeth unto him, If thou be the sonne of God, cast thyself downe: For it is written, that he shall give his angels charge over thee, and with their handes they shal lift thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foote against a stone. Jesus sayde unto him, It is written againe, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.
> (Matt. 4:5-7)

Exposed as a falsifier of Scripture, Shylock first defends himself by berating Antonio and then, feigning friendship, agrees to contract a "merry bond" (I.iii.169). Nevertheless, Shylock has made it very clear to the audience that just as Jacob tricked Laban out of his ewes and lambs with the Lord's blessings, so will he, Shylock contends, get the better of Antonio with the Lord's approval. And if Antonio objects to Shylock's "bargains" and his "well-won thrift, which he calls interest" (I.iii.45), then Shylock will contract a merry bond out of friendship--like Jacob, without pay--and let the "hand of heaven" bless him with his competitor's misfortunes at sea. After all,

> . . . ships are but boards, sailors but men, there be land-rats, and water-rats, water-thieves, and land-thieves, (I mean pirates), and then there is the peril of waters, winds, and rocks.
> (I.iii.15-23)

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56 Prayer Book (1559), p. 98.

"Abram"

Characteristic of Shylock's twisting of Scripture to fit his beliefs is his use of the form Abram for Abraham. Although I have not been able to locate any critical comments on Shylock's use of this form, it would seem to be a significant indication of his convictions and intentions. For in Shakespeare's other plays the form used is Abraham:

> Sweet peace conduct his sweet soul to the bosom
> Of good old Abraham!
> (Richard II IV.i.103-4)

> The sons of Edward sleep in Abraham's bosom.
> (Richard III IV.iii.38)

And in Henry V, Mrs. Quickly gives her version of Abraham's bosom:

> Nay, sure, he's not in hell: he's in Arthur's
> Bosom, if ever man went to Arthur's bosom.
> (II.iii.9-10)

In The Merchant, however, the form is always Abram:

> This Jacob from our holy Abram was.
> (I.iii.67)

> O father Abram, what these Christians are!
> (I.iii.156)

The distinction between these two forms of the same name is explained in Genesis:

> It is I, behold, my convenant is with thee, and thou
> shalt be a father of many nations. Neither shall thy
> name anymore bee called Abram, but thy name shalbe called
> Abraham: for a father of many nations have I made thee.
> (Genesis 17:4-5)

As the Bishops' Bible notes here, "The changing of his name is a seale of Gods promise."[57] And as Saint Paul notes, the "promise" to be as numerous

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[57] Bishops' Bible (1585), gloss to Genesis 17:5.

"as the starres of the heaven and as the sand which is upon the sea side" was given to "Abraham" because of his faith that God, not Abraham, would bring all to pass.[58] It is the Lord who says:

> I will multiplie thy seede as the starres of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea side, and thy seede shall possess the gates of his enemies.
> (Genesis 22:17)

The Bishops' Bible, by commenting on these lines, emphasizes the distinction between God's power working freely and man's merit: "God giveth his free benefites the name of reward, to provoke men to godliness: not for the merite of the worke."[59]

Throughout The Merchant, then, when Shylock calls Abraham "Abram," he is reflecting his unwillingness to acknowledge that faith in Providence which the Biblical change of name symbolizes. He recognizes and anticipates obtaining the promised blessings, but he does not rely on God for their fulfillment nor for his sufficiency. He relies on his own calculations, skill, and "well-won thrift."

In Act One of The Merchant, then, Shylock introduces the audience to the central conflict of the play--a longstanding antagonism between himself and Antonio, between the willing bonds of loving friendship and the unwilling bondage of ambitious and vindictive usury. With Biblical allusions he defends his righteousness, claiming to be especially chosen by God as a descendent of Abram to whom the promise was made. And he claims that he will be blessed and rewarded like Jacob for his skill in

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[58] Romans 4:12-13.

[59] Gloss to Genesis 22:17.

breeding money. For since he does not offend against the law ("What judgment shall I dread, doing no wrong?" IV.i.89), he will be blessed with wealth, power, and success over the prodigal Christians of Venice.

CHAPTER II

RESOLUTION AND LITURGY

In the first twenty-two lines of the concluding act of The Merchant, beneath the surface of a playful lovers' quarrel clothed in classical and liturgical allusions, with memories of love, deception, loss, death, redemption, resurrection, and union, Lorenzo and Jessica offer a beautiful but paradoxical resolution of The Merchant of Venice. In keeping with the antogonistic movement initiated in Act One by Shylock and Antonio, this resolution takes the form of a quarrel. But this time the quarrel is a mock quarrel arising not from deceit, hate, and the bond of usury but from the feeling of being freed from bondage and from the acceptance of the bonds of love with its demands for sacrifice, suffering, and death. In this chapter I will trace the Biblical, liturgical, and classical allusions of the opening lovers' quarrel and show how Lorenzo and Jessica offer this paradoxical resolution to the theme of bondage in The Merchant by accepting the new bonds.

Troilus, Cressid, and the Problem of Trusting People

The fifth act of The Merchant of Venice sounds a note of joy, love, and seemingly harmonious resolution quite different from the earlier oppressiveness of Venice with its "want-wit sadness" (I.i.6), its frivolous "mirth and laughter" (I.i.80), its insidiously "merry bond" (I.iii.168), and its merciless demand for justice voiced by Shylock: "I stand here for law" (IV.i.142). This final act presents Belmont as a refuge from bondage and a land of plenty dropping "manna in the way / Of starved

people" (V.i.294-5). It pictures Lorenzo and Jessica sitting in the idyllic garden at Belmont talking of love while the moon shines but "a little paler" than the day (V.i.125). It opens with Lorenzo speaking:

> The moon shines bright. In such a night as this,
> When the sweet wind did gently kiss the trees,
> And they did make no noise, in such a night
> Troilus methinks mounted the Trojan walls,
> And sigh'd his soul toward the Grecian tents
> Where Cressid lay that night.
> (V.i.1-6)

In these lines Lorenzo sets the basic antiphonal pattern for the lovers' quarrel between himself and Jessica, a quarrel which typifies the allusive harmony and the paradoxical resolution of Act Five. Both lovers follow a patterned response, answering each other antiphonally with the phrase, "In such a night. . . ." Both assume an attitude of playful celebration for the releases from unwilling bondage and for the acceptance of the bonds of love. Both seek classical allusion after classical allusion with the moon for a setting. Both try to answer the charges of the other with a counter attack. And both lovers hide the relevant issues behind an allusion until the disguise becomes so thin that Lorenzo finally breaks out with a gentle and playfully ironic direct attack:

> In such a night
> Did Jessica steal from the wealthy Jew,
> And with an unthrift love did run from Venice
> As far as Belmont.
> (V.i.14-17)

Not only did Jessica "steal" away, puns Lorenzo, but she also "did steal" two bags of ducats (II.viii,18), a diamond valued at "two thousand ducats (III.i.77), and a turquoise ring which Leah gave Shylock as a bachelor (III.i.111). Moreover, she demonstrates "an unthrift love" by discontinuing her life as the daughter of "the wealthy Jew," by trading

her father's turquoise ring "for a monkey" (III.i.109), and by spending in "Genoa . . . one night forscore ducats" (III.i.98-9).

Although Lorenzo's first statement in the lovers' quarrel is clothed with pleasant associations, beneath the surface of his images and poetry, Lorenzo is playfully questioning Jessica's trustworthiness. As critics generally recognize,[1] the source for Lorenzo's allusion to Troilus is Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde; and it is from Chaucer that much of the charm of Lorenzo's lines comes. Troilus and Criseyde reads as follows:

> And every nyght, as was his wone to doone,
> He stood the brighte moone to byholde,
> And al his sorwe he to the moone tolde.
> . . . . . .
> Upon the walles faste ek wolde he walke,
> And on the Grekis oost he wolde se,
> And to hymself right thus he wolde talke:
> "Lo, yonder is myn owene lady free,
> Or ellis yonder, ther the tentes be,
> And thennes cometh this air that is so soote,
> That in my soule I fele it doth me boote.[2]

The charm of Chaucer's version, which extends to six stanzas, is captured by Lorenzo in six lines. Lorenzo does this by selecting all the basic images: at "nyght" under a "brighte moone," all his "sorwe he to the moone tolde" as he walked upon the "walles" overlooking the Grecian "tentes" and breathed the "air that is so soote" for his "soul."

Ostensibly, as he sits with Jessica in the idyllic garden of Bel-

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[1] The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, ed. Edmund Malone (London, 1790), note to V.i.4 (subsequently referred to as the Malone Shakespeare). See also Joseph Hunter, New Illustrations of the Life, Studies and Writings of Shakespeare (London, 1845), I, 312; Furness Variorum: and Brown, Arden edition.

[2] The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson (Boston, 1933), Book V, lines 647-9, 666-72. Unless noted otherwise, all quotations will be from this edition.

mont, Lorenzo is recalling the pleasant images. But he is also unavoidably recalling the submerged, pertinent, unpleasant facts about Troilus and Cressid. Once beyond the "Trojan walls," Cressid accepted a new lover in the "Grecian tents / Where Cressid lay that night." Moreover, the whole war between the Greeks and the Trojans took its inspiration from that kind of love which in Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida Ulysses calls "appetite, an universal wolf."[3]

Thus, despite the beauty of the poetry and the harmony of the garden at Belmont, Lorenzo's allusion to Troilus has ironic undertones--not only in the light of Shakespeare's Chaucerian source but also in the light of his own version written about six years later. For even while Troilus was sighing out his soul for his beloved Cressid "In such a night . . . When the sweet wind did gently kiss the trees," she was being unfaithful. In Shakespeare's version the later anguish of Troilus is memorable: "O false Cressid! False, false, false!" cries Troilus. "O beauty! where is thy faith?" "If beauty have a soul, this is not she" (V.ii.178, 167, 138). Lorenzo's allusion to Troilus is then playfully appropriate. For although he has no grounds for questioning Jessica's fidelity in conjugal love, he does have grounds for questioning her fidelity in parental love, obedience, and justice.

Lorenzo's allusion also recalls the danger of trusting anyone, for throughout The Merchant agreements, contracts, and bonds of trust

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[3]Shakespeare, Troilus and Cressida, I.iii.121. Vergil K. Whitaker develops this idea and argues that Troilus and Cressida views life through an Augustinian ethics in which "Love at sight must rest upon sense and therefore appetite; and it must be a triumph of passion in defiance of reason, a sin." Shakespeare's Use of Learning (San Marino, California, 1953), p. 211.

have been lightly regarded or intentionally deceptive from the start. Repeatedly, someone puts his faith in someone or something only to be disappointed. Antonio puts his faith in Bassanio by entrusting his money to him even though Bassanio is a self-acknowledged bad risk. Bassanio has never paid his debts to Antonio, and this time his debt nearly costs Antonio his life.

Also, in contracting the loan with Shylock, Antonio puts his faith in his ships which are to return "with thrice three times the value of this bond" a month before the bond expires (I.iii.153-5). But Antonio's ships do not return on time. Again, when Shylock protests: "I would be friends with you, and have your love . . . and take no doit / Of usance for my moneys" (I.iii.134, 6, 7), Antonio accepts his word: "Content in faith, I'll seal to such a bond, And say there is much kindness in the Jew" (I.iii.148-9). Even when Antonio hears about the pound of flesh and hears Bassanio's warning, "I like not fair terms in a villain's mind" (I.iii.175), he accepts Shylock's "fair terms" and "merry bond" (I.iii.169) and tells Bassanio: "The Hebrew will turn Christian, he grows kind" (I.iii.174). But Shylock's "merry bond" turns out to be a murderous plot against the life of his competitor and, according to Jessica, a plot with premeditated malice:

> When I was with him, I have heard him swear
> To Tubal and to Chus, his countrymen,
> That he would rather have Antonio's flesh
> Than twenty times the value of the sum
> That he did owe him.
>
> (III.ii.283-7)

Again, when Shylock tells Jessica, "There are my keys . . . Jessica my girl, Look to my house" (II.v.12, 15-6), he puts his faith in his daughter, only to have her run off with his money and family

jewels. Even Portia's obedience to her father's will is in question if we suppose she gave Bassanio a clue in his choice of the right casket.[4] And then Portia and Nerissa entrust their rings to their husbands as a sign of marital fidelity. But these husbands give away their rings at the first pressing instance. Thus, in the lovers' quarrel between Lorenzo and Jessica the playful consideration of Jessica's fidelity belongs to an extensive series.

As critics generally view her, Jessica is hardly an example of loyalty, integrity, or mature love. At her worst, according to Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch,

> Jessica is bad and disloyal, unfilial, a thief; frivolous, greedy, without any more conscience than a cat and without even a cat's redeeming love of home. Quite without heart, or worse than an animal instinct--pilfering to be carnal--she betrays her father to be a light-of-lucre carefully weighted with her sire's ducats.[5]

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[4]Henry N. Hudson observes: "This song is very artfully conceived and carries something enigmatical or riddle-like in its face, as if on purpose to suggest or hint darkly the way to the right choice. . . . The riddle evidently has some effect in starting Bassanio on the right track, by causing him to distrust such shows as catch the fancy or the eye" (Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, ed. Henry N. Hudson [Boston, 1879], p. 88n). Richmond Noble explains further that the song warns Bassanio to "beware of that which is pleasing to the sight, for it has no substance and at best its superficial glory is transient. . . . for almost without waiting for the last strains of the song to fade away, he [Bassanio] observes very abruptly,

So may the outward shows be least themselves;
The world is still deceiv'd with ornament.

A comment clearly enough inspired by the song" (Shakespeare's Use of Song [Oxford, 1923], p. 45). And Austin K. Gray notes that "This song is an Echo Song" in which the final rhymes "bred," "head," "nourished," and "fed" rhyme with "lead." Thus, "after the soloist's injunction 'Reply, reply!'. . . The song dying away on the sound Led, Bassanio takes the hint" ("The Song in The Merchant of Venice," MLN, 1927, XLII, 458-9).

[5]N.C.S., p. xx.

H. B. Charlton and T. M. Parrott look upon Jessica as a minx who causes Shylock to harden his heart against Antonio and the Christians of Venice.[6] She "is clearly a girl whose revolt will strike to her father's heart. She flippantly desecrates all that Shylock holds sacred."[7]

These critics, however, disregard the whole dramatic statement, for Lorenzo and all the Christians of Venice and Belmont sympathize with Jessica and look upon her as a beautiful young girl who has escaped the bondage of a miserly, devilish, old father and now embraces the obligations of Christianity and married love. As John Russell Brown demonstrates, Jessica claims the sympathy of the Elizabethan audience not only because she is "the daughter of an old man who escapes from duress," but also because "the miserly fathers in Elizabethan and classical comedies" are "only fit to be the dupes of their children."[8] As in Romeo and Juliet and A Midsummer Night's Dream when it comes to a choice between marriage for love and marriage in obedience to one's parents, sympathy usually favors the young impetuous lovers who elope. Moreover, the audience will remember that Jessica's theft is very similar to the occult compensation that Shylock approved of in his story of Jacob and Laban. Besides, there is the accepted custom of the bride bringing her own dowry.

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[6]Thomas Marc Parrott, Shakespearean Comedy (New York, 1962), p. 138.

[7]Henry Buckley Charlton, Shakespearian Comedy (New York, 1938), p. 158.

[8]Brown bases his argument on Anthony Munday's Zalauto (1580) and Masuccio di Salerno's fourteenth Novella (c. 1500), two possible sources for Jessica's escapade. In both of these romances, a prodigal daughter makes off with a miserly father's money, and yet all is condoned. Arden edition, "Introduction," p. xli.

The Merchant, then, glosses over Jessica's disloyalty, disobedience, theft, and apostacy. In fact, the citizens of Venice, who classify better as Elizabethans than as Venetians, see Jessica's elopement not only as an escape from bondage but as an actual triumph over the Jewish "misbeliever, cut-throat dog" (I.iii.106). When Shylock cries for law and justice after discovering Jessica's elopement and theft, the Christians of Venice rejoice in her liberation and in Shylock's misfortune. Salanio is exuberant in telling his friends about Shylock:

> I never heard a passion so confused,
> So strange, outrageous, and so variable,
> As the dog Jew did utter in the streets:
> "My daughter! Oh, my ducats! Oh, my daughter!
> Fled with a Christian! Oh, my Christian ducats!
> Justice! The law! My ducats, and my daughter!
> (II.viii.12-17)

Here all Salanio's sympathy is for Jessica. For by the standards of Salanio and his friends, Jessica is not abandoning the faith but rather escaping the limitations of Judaism and choosing the higher loyalties of Christianity and married love. He no longer sees her as an infidel but as one of the Faithful.

This introduces one of the significant complications of the total dramatic action, namely Jessica's conversion to Christianity; for The Merchant presents Jessica's apostacy as a conversion. Also, by her conversion Jessica solicits the sympathy of the Christian audience and implies that she is worthy of trust. Early in the play Jessica speaks about the "strife" of feeling as a daughter and thinking as a Christian:

> Alack, what heinous sin is it in me
> To be ashamed to be my father's child!
> But though I am a daughter to his blood
> I am not to his manners: O Lorenzo,
> If thou keep promise I shall end this strife,
> Become a Christian and thy loving wife!
> (II.iii.16-21)

Here the issues in conflict are love and loyalty to her father versus love of Lorenzo and loyalty to her religious ideas. Jessica wants to love and admire Shylock because he is her father, and yet she cannot be a "child" "to his manners" because she judges them according to the standards held by the Christians of Venice. Shylock's ethics are in conflict with the Christian community which Jessica accepts.

But Jessica's trustworthiness is not merely a question of rejecting Shylock's "manners," for the ethical manners of the Christians of Venice are just as questionable and harsh as Shylock's. But by becoming a Christian the implications are that Jessica is becoming one of the faithful and is therefore more trustworthy than an infidel. One element of the total conflict of The Merchant and of Jessica's "strife" is the Christian view of salvarion. For according to the Christians in The Merchant, Jews are infidels and Christians are the Faithful. Thus, Gratiano taunts Shylock by calling him an infidel: "Now infidel I have you on the hip" (IV.i.330). And he refers to Jessica in the same terminology: "But who comes here? Lorenzo and his infidel!" (III.ii.217). Launcelot Gobo similarly teases Jessica when he addresses her: "most beautiful pagan, most sweet Jew!" (II.iii.10-11). Launcelot continues, and in his clownish way alludes to the serious Renaissance view on the dichotomy between natural paternity and the regeneration of grace:

> Yes, truly, for look you, the sins of the father are to be laid upon the children, therefore (I promise you), I fear you,--I was always plain with you, and so now I speak my agitation of the matter: therefore be o' good cheer, for truly I think you are damn'd.
>
> (III.v.1-5)

There is a doctrine, says Launcelot parodying the role of a theologian, which claims that you cannot be saved because your father is a pagan,

an infidel, one of the unredeemed.

In speaking his "agitation of the matter," Launcelot bolsters his pseudo argument with two allusions to the liturgy. ". . . the sins of the father are to be laid upon the children" is a passage from the Ten Commandments which is read aloud at every Communion Service in the Book of Common Prayer: ". . . for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, and visit the sin of the fathers upon the children unto the third and .iiii. generation."[9] In the context of the Ten Commandments this condemnation refers to the worship of false gods. Launcelot, then, is implying that Shylock worships a false god and that Jessica will be included in his damnation.

A second passage which is more relevant to the anti-semitism of Launcelot's pose is a Gospel passage read on the Sunday before Easter. In this passage the Jews absolve Pilate of responsibility for the crucifixion and call down upon themselves and their children the blood of Christ:

> Pilate said unto them: what shall I do then with Jesus, Which is called Christ? They all said unto him: Let him be crucified. The deputy said: what evil hath he done? But they cried more saying: Let him be crucified. When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that more business was made, he took water, and washed his hands before the people, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person, see ye. Then answered all the people, and said, His blood be on us and on our children.[10]

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[9] Prayer Book (1559), p. 181. As Richmond Noble observes, "No Biblical version reads 'sins'" (Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge, p. 166).

[10] Prayer Book (1559), p. 106; from Matt. 27:22-25. Later, when Portia exhorts Shylock to have mercy, Shylock alludes to this passage, saying, "My deeds upon my head" (IV.i.202).

Thus when Launcelot offers his theologized "agitation" of the doctrine of salvation for Jews, he offers only damnation for the daughter of Shylock, a descendant of the crucifiers. And Jessica derisively concludes: "there's no mercy for me in heaven, because I am a Jew's daughter" (III.v.28-30).

In answering Launcelot, Jessica responds with the same kind of theologizing that condemns her, and she likewise bolsters her argument with Biblical and liturgical allusions. According to the scriptures, the liturgy, and the Christian tradition, argues Jessica, there is only one solution available, she must become a Christian. The Good Friday liturgy suggests this view, for on this day the liturgy has a series of solemn orations for the conversion of heretics, schismatics, Jews, and pagans. The Prayer Book reads:

> Merciful God, who hast made all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made, nor wouldest the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live: have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word. And so fetch them home, blessed Lord, to thy flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Isrealites, and be made one fold under one shepherd Jesus Christ our Lord.[11]

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[11] Prayer Book (1559), p. 119. This Good Friday oration in the Prayer Book was modeled on the Good Friday orations of the Latin liturgy. The Prayer Book eliminates the adjective in the phrase perfidious Jews and groups the Jews with the Turks, infidels, and heretics in a single oration. The availability and influence of the Latin liturgy will be discussed in the following chapter. The oration for Jews on Good Friday in the Latin liturgy reads:

> Oremus et pro perfidis Judaeis; ut Deus et Dominus noster auferat velamen de cordibus eorum, ut et ipsi agnoscant Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.
>
> Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui etiam Judaicam perfidiam a tua misericordia non repellis; exaudi preces nostras, quas pro illius populi obcaecatione deferimus, ut agnita

Jessica, then, who knows that Launcelot is twitting her, answers: "I shall be saved by my husband: he hath made me a Christian" (III.v.17-8).

Jessica is here alluding to two well-known scriptural passages. The first appears in the Prayer Book in the ceremony for marriage: "For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh."[12] This passage, from St. Paul's Letter to the Ephesians (5:31), explains the lines in the Book of Genesis (2:24), expressing the Jewish and Christian tradition that the bond of loyalty between husband and wife takes preference over the bond of loyalty between child and parent. The second scriptural passage which Jessica musters to her cause answers Launcelot's views on justification: "I shall be saved by my husband" (III.v.17). Jessica is alluding to St. Paul's statement that "the unbeleeving wife is sanctified by the husbande."[13] Thus, she argues, the faith of the unbelieving spouse (her own) in a mixed marriage is supplied by the faith of the believing spouse (Lorenzo's).

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veritatis tuae luce, quae Christus est, a suis tenebris eruantur.

[Let us also pray for the perfidious Jews, that the Lord our God may tear away the veil from their hearts so that they also may acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ.

[Almighty and everlasting God, you do not refuse your mercy to even the perfidious Jews. Hear the prayers which we offer for the blindness of that people so that they may acknowledge the light of your truth, which is Christ, and be delivered from their darkness.]

Salisbury Missal, 1516, University Microfilms (Ann Arbor, 1948), reel 482, "In Die Veneris Sancta." All English translations are mine.

[12]Prayer Book (1559), p. 223.

[13]Richmond Noble notes this Biblical allusion and gives this version of I Cor. 7:14 from the Bishops' Bible as the version used by Shakespeare. Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge, p. 166.

Consequently, when Jessica says she is going to "end this strife" by becoming Lorenzo's "loving wife," she claims that the important thing is not that she is abandoning her father but that she is following the will of God as it is made known in the Old Testament, the New Testament, and the liturgical ceremony of marriage in the Prayer Book. In this way, then, Jessica wins the sympathy of the Venetians, solicits the sympathy of the Christian audience, and claims to be worthy of trust. And when Lorenzo pleasantly alludes to Troilus in the lovers' quarrel, he is ironically teasing Jessica about the unpleasant, questionable aspects of her trustworthiness--abandoning her Jewish heritage--faith, father, and manners"--eloping, marrying, and converting to Christianity.

Another pattern of the Lorenzo-Jessica dialogue which sheds significant light on the total dramatic action is the phrase "In such a night," which occurs at the beginning of each of the antiphonally recited allusions. Critics have always found this phrase appropriate for the peaceful setting and idyllic atmosphere of Belmont. They have also noted that Shakespeare's contemporaries thought so too since at least one of them saw fit to imitate it in a similar love scene in Wily Beguiled.[14] And although critics have not recognized it as a liturgical

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[14] Wily Beguiled, written in 1601, imitated The Merchant in the following lines:

Sophos. See how the twinckling Starres do hide their borrowed shine
As halfe asham'd their luster so is stain'd,
By Lelia's beautious eyes that shine more bright,
Then twinkling Starres do in a winters night:
In such a night did Paris win his love.
Lelia. In such a night, Aeneas prov'd unkind.
Sophos. In such a night did Troilus court his deare.
Lelia. In such a night, faire Phyllis was betraid.
Sophos. Ile prove as true as ever Troilus was.

allusion, this phrase does appear in the "Exultet," a liturgical hymn for the vigil of Easter. The context of this hymn is quite similar to the context in The Merchant, and so it adds another level of meaning to the lovers' quarrel and reinforces some of the themes and motifs of the whole play. In the garden of Belmont, just as Lorenzo and Jessica make use of classical events which took place at night in the light of the moon, so do they make use of liturgical phrases, images, and motifs which have overtones of events from Jewish and Christian salvation history which occurred in the light of the moon on such a night as this. Before examining the relationship of the Easter Vigil to The Merchant, however, it will be necessary to examine the history of the liturgy and in particular the availability of the "Exultet" and the Easter vigil service of the Roman liturgy in Reformation England.

The Liturgy in Sixteenth-Century England

Although Shakespeare was more familiar with the Prayer Book and the official liturgy of the Church of England, he also seems to have been familiar with the Easter vigil "Exultet" and the Roman Liturgy. In the sixteenth century the avowed policy of both the Church of Rome and the Tudor kings and councillors was to bring about ritual uniformity everywhere. The Preface to the first edition of the Prayer Book (1549) stated:

Lelia. And I as constant as Penelope.
Sophos. Then let us solace, and in loves delight
And sweet inbracings spend the live-long night.
And whilst love mounts her on her wanton wings,
Let Descant run on Musicks silver strings.

Wily Beguiled, ed. W. W. Greg (London, 1912), p. 64-65. For the Correct dating of this play see Baldwin Maxwell, "Wily Beguiled," Studies in Philology, xix (1922), 206-237.

> And where heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in churches within this realm: some following Salisbury use, some Herford use, some the use from Bangor, some of York, and some of Lincoln: Now from henceforth, all the whole realm shall have but one use.[15]

In accordance with this, Edward VI issued an injunction in 1549 abolishing all Catholic "antiphoners, missales, grayles, processionalles, manuelles, legendes, pies, portasses, jornalles, and ordinalles after the use of Sarum, Lincolne, Yorke, or any other private use, and all other bokes of service" differing from the Prayer Book.[16] Before this injunction every bishop had been free, according to the jus liturgicum (church law for liturgical use), to establish his own rites and ceremonies in his diocese after consulting his chapter. But with Edward's injunction this jus liturgicum was limited at least in theory.

In practice, however, the bishops often continued to exercise their jus liturgicum even up to 1604 when the Puritan bishops and clergy of Lincoln signed a protest against a parliamentary attempt to enforce ritual uniformity. These ministers felt that the revisers had not purged enough Roman accretions from the Prayer Book, and they took the following "Exception":

> . . . we are perswaded that both the Booke of Common prayer and the other bookes to be subscribed by this Canon (of which yet in some respects we reverently esteem) containe in them sondry things which are not agreeable but contrary to the word of God.[17]

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[15] The Two Liturgies, A.D. 1549 and 1552, ed. Joseph Ketley (Cambridge, 1844), p. 19. The word use designates the liturgical practices peculiar to a diocese or archdiocese.

[16] Henry Gee and William John Hardy, Documents Illustrative of English Church History (London, 1921), p. 358.

[17] "An abridgment of that booke. . . ," 1605, University Microfilms (Ann Arbor, 1952), reel 843, "Exception I," p. 2.

Many Catholic and Anglican clergymen, however, felt that too much had been omitted from the Prayer Book, and they were concerned with the practical problems that arose when something desirable was missing from the Prayer Book and not expressly abrogated. In such cases they turned to tradition and the customary usage prior to the Reformation. G. W. O. Addleshaw notes that the book called the "ceremonial" in particular "was based primarily on the age-long customary ceremonial usages of the Church, much of it not mentioned in the Prayer Book."[18] This use of the ancient liturgies was thought preferable to having no ceremony or to creating a new one. Thus, in practice, the actual liturgical customs of the day were often much wider than those defined in the Prayer Book.

The "Exultet" from the Easter vigil service is one of those Roman ceremonies which was, according to Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, "devised by men's fantasies," and tended to "idolatry and superstition."[19] At first the reformers of the liturgy did not specifically condemn the Easter vigil liturgy but simply excluded it from the first edition of the Prayer Book. Subsequent editions (1552, 1559, 1561), however, those that would be affecting Shakespeare, took a stronger stand and included Edward VI's "Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer" which required all to use only those rites contained in the Prayer Book.

But again it is clear that the clergy continued to use various elements of the old liturgy, including the Easter vigil service, because the list of liturgical items called abuses and checked annually by the

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[18] G. W. O. Addleshaw, The High Church Tradition, A Study in the Liturgical Thought of the Seventeenth Century (London, 1941), p. 149.

[19] Thomas Cranmer, Miscellaneous Writings and Letters, ed. John Edmund Cox (Cambridge, 1846), p. 490.

bishops always included the Easter vigil service. Cranmer's "Articles to be Inquired of in the Diocese of Canterbury" reads:

> Item, Whether they upon Easter-even last past hallowed the font, fire, or paschal, or had any paschal set up, or burning in their churches.[20]

And Nicholas Ridley, during his first year as bishop, inquired in all the churches of London, "whether any useth . . . the font of Easter-even, fire on paschal, or whether there was any sepulcre on Good Friday."[21]

But not even episcopal visitation was able to bring about uniformity. Since the official policy was inconsistent, the resistance of Catholics was encouraged when Mary burned the Prayer Book, and the resistance of Protestants was encouraged when Elizabeth burned the Missal. As a result, the actual liturgical practice became a matter of conscience, or consistency, and therefore less subject to official scrutiny. A. F. Pollard conjectures that "Often the same priest read the Anglican service in public to satisfy the law and then said Mass in secret to satisfy his conscience."[22] And Bishop John Jewel of Salisbury, setting out in 1559 on a "long and troublesome commission for the establishment of religion, through Reading Abingdon, Gloucester, Bristol, Bath, Wells, Exeter, Cornwall, Dorset, and Salisbury," complains:

> The bishops, rather than abandon the pope, whom they have so often abjured before, are willing to submit to everything. Not, however, that they do so for the sake of religion, of which they have none; but for the sake of

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[20] Cranmer, Miscellaneous Writings, p. 158.

[21] Nicholas Ridley, Works, ed. Henry Christmas (Cambridge, 1841), p. 532.

[22] Alan Faraday Pollard, Political History, 1547-1603 (London, 1929), p. 280.

> consistency, which the miserable knaves now choose to call their conscience. Now that religion is everywhere changed, the mass-priests absent themselves altogether from public worship.[23]

It was under these conditions, then, that the Roman liturgy continued to be available for those who wished to remain Catholics. And there is always the possibility that Shakespeare encountered the Roman liturgy and the Easter vigil liturgy when his Company was on tour during the plague.

In the 1580's and 1590's the use of the Roman liturgy was tantamount to treason and in 1585 the mere presence of a priest on English soil constituted a capital offence. In 1593 Queen Elizabeth issued an injunction against

> . . . sundry wicked and seditious persons, who, terming themselves Catholics, and being indeed spies and intelligencers . . . under a false pretext of religion and conscience, do secretly wander and shift from place to place within this realm to corrupt and seduce her majesty's subjects.[24]

The Roman liturgy at this time was, then, so dangerous and secret that evidence for its use is meager and consists of searches made for priests and their mass books, fines imposed for recusancy, charges of conspiracy, and trials. By the end of Elizabeth's reign nearly two hundred priests had been executed and nearly twice this number had died in prison.[25] Nevertheless, in 1596 William Holt S. J. claimed that there were between

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[23]John Jewel to Peter Martyr, dated London, Aug. 1, 1559, Zurich Letters, I (1558-79), ed. Hastings Robinson (Cambridge, 1842), No. 16, p. 39.

[24]Gee, Documents Illustrative of English Church History, p. 499.

[25]H. Mutschmann and K. Wentersdorf, Shakespeare and Catholicism (New York, 1952), p. 15.

forty and fifty of the old Marian clergy still active in England.[26]

Besides the general practice of Catholics and priests, which would have made the Catholic liturgy available in Reformation England, there is evidence that within Shakespeare's family and his circle of acquaintances there were Catholic recusants.[27] And their use of the liturgy was a possible source for Shakespeare's acquaintance with both the liturgical text and with the Easter vigil service.

Shakespeare's mother, Mary Arden, his father-in-law, Edward Arden, Sheriff of Warwickshire, his cousin-in-law, John Somerville, and the Catholic priest, Hugh Hall, were all publicly arraigned as Catholics conspiring against the life of the Queen. On October 25, 1583, Arden's son-in-law, John Somerville, set off from Park Hall for London proclaiming along the way that he was going to assassinate Queen Elizabeth for oppressing Catholics. Somerville was apprehended and the Ardens of Park Hall were implicated. In November Edward Arden, his wife, Somerville, and the priest Hugh Hall were arraigned on charges of conspiracy. Evidence, however, was difficult to establish as Thomas Wilkes, Clerk of the Privy Council, suggests in his letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State:

> Unless you can make Somerville, Arden, Hall the priest, Somerville's wife and his sister to speak directly to those things which you desire to have discovered, it will not be possible for us here to find out more than is al-

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[26] Quoted by Carl S. Meyer, Elizabeth I and the Religious Settlement of 1559 (Saint Louis, 1960), p. 129.

[27] See Mutschmann's discussion of Catholics and Catholic sympathizers in Shakespeare's family and circle of friends. Shakespeare and Catholicism, pp. 35-205.

> ready found, for the papists in this country greatly do work upon the advantage of clearing their houses of all show of suspicion.[28]

By December, however, all were found guilty of high treason and condemned to death. Incidents such as this forcefully suggest why recusants valued secrecy and left little evidence of their liturgical practices for historians.

Another person who was under suspicion of being a Catholic and who had a great influence on Shakespeare is Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton (1573-1624). Southampton was the patron of an ambitious and admiring young Shakespeare. When the second Earl of Southampton died in 1581, the Countess of Southampton wrote Leicester explaining that it was not her fault that her eight-year-old son refused to attend the Prayer Book services; it was the late second Earl who taught him that. The Countess writes in October:

> That my little son refused to hear service is not my fault that hath not seen him almost this two years. I trust your lordship esteems me to have some more discretion than to forbid him that which his few years can not judge of. Truly, my lord, if myself had kept him, he should in this house have come to it as my lord, my father, and all his doth. I pray your lordship let her Majesty understand this much from me, to put her out of doubt I was not guilty of that folly.[29]

In spite of her explanation, however, the Acts of the Privy Council for December 20, 1581, notes that the Southampton house was searched for evidence of Catholic services:

> A letter unto Mr. Recorder of London by the which he is required to resorte unto the Earle of Southampton's howse

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[28]Quoted by Mutschmann, Shakespeare and Catholicism, p. 52.

[29]Quoted by A. L. Rowse, Shakespeare's Southampton (New York, 1965), pp. 44-45.

> in Holborne, and there to make searche for the apprehending of one William Spencer . . . and, furder, he is required to searche the said howse for bookes, letters and ornamentes for Massinge.[30]

Although Southampton came from a Catholic family and was brought up Catholic, his sympathies gradually inclined to Protestantism, and it was his colleague in the work of colonial organization, Sir Edwin Sandys, who claimed finally to have converted him.[31]

Although it is difficult to find positive external evidence of Shakespeare's acquaintance with the Catholic liturgy, an examination of internal evidence is more rewarding. For, although many of Shakespeare's allusions to the liturgy can be traced to the Prayer Book, some of them cannot be found in any of the Prayer Book editions (1549, 1552, 1559, 1561), but only in the Roman liturgical books. For example,[32] Launcelot's pun on reproach (II,v,20) can be taken as a pun on approach, or in the context of Launcelot's antipathy for Shylock the Jew it can be taken as an allusion to the Good Friday "Reproaches" of the Latin Rite (eliminated from the Prayer Book). Also, Portia's image of mercy dropping down like gentle rain from heaven is an image found in the "Rorate Caeli" of the Roman liturgy.

From this brief historical survey it is clear, then, that texts of the Catholic liturgy were available although they were often searched out and destroyed by officers of the Privy Council. It is also clear

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[30] Acts of the Privy Council of England, A. D., 1581-1582, ed. John Roche Dasent (London, 1896), p. 298.

[31] Dictionary of National Biography (London, 1917), XXI, 1059.

[32] Later these examples will be discussed in detail.

that the Easter vigil service was one of the more popular ceremonies of the ancient liturgy and was not easily suppressed by episcopal visitation. It is also clear that within Shakespeare's family and circle of acquaintances there were Catholics who may have celebrated the Easter vigil when he was present. And in particular, since the "Exultet" does not exist in the Prayer Book, the likelihood is strong that sometime before he wrote his allusion to the "Exultet" in The Merchant, Shakespeare witnessed the Easter vigil service. This service--one of the most beautiful, musical, thematic, symbolic, and impressionistic ceremonies of the ancient liturgy--was very likely to make a deep impression on anyone who had an eye open for dramatic and esthetic expression.

Occasionally, references to the Easter vigil liturgy can be found in non-episcopal and unofficial literature of the period. One of these references, which actually sounds like an eyewitness description, is that of Barnabe Googe in The Popish Kingdom, a translation of Thomas Naogeorgus. Writing in 1570 Barnabe Googe, a devout Puritan, was impressed (although rather negatively) with the ceremonies of the Easter vigil and published the following description of the "idolatrous and heathenlike" liturgy practiced in his day.Although his account is a fierce denunciation of Roman ceremonies, it gives an excellent, detailed picture of the dramatic setting of the Easter vigil service of the sixteenth century. Barnabe Googe writes:

> In Eastereve the fire all, is quencht in every place
> And fresh againe from out the flint, is fetcht with solemne grace:
> . . . . . .
> A taper great, the paschall namde, with musicke then they blesse,
> And franckensence herein they pricke, for greater holinesse:
> This burneth night and day as signe, of Christ that conquerde hell,

As if so be this foolish toye, suffiseth this to tell.
Then doth the Bishop or the Priest, the water halow straight,
That for their baptisme is reservde:
With wondrous pompe and furniture, amid the Church they go,
With candles, crosses, banners, Chrisme, and oyle appoynted tho:
Nine times about the font they marche, and on the saintes doe call,
Then still at length they stande, and straight the Priest begins withall,
And thrise the water doth he touche, and crosses thereon make,
Here bigge and barbrous wordes he speakes, to make the devill quake:
. . . . . .
In some place solemn sightes and showes, & Pageants fayre are playd,
When sundrie sortes of maskers brave, in straunge attire arayd,
As where the Maries three doe meete, the sepulcre to see,
And John with Peter swiftly runnes, before him there to bee.
These things are done with jestures such and with so pleasaunt game,
That even the gravest men that live, woulde laugh to see the same.[33]

Barnabe Googe's association of the Easter vigil with the cycle plays suggests another reason for the popularity and availability of this ceremony. The Easter vigil service marks the end of the penitential season of Lent and so it is traditionally known as the day on which solemn services and festivities are resumed.

Googe's initial description of the fire at night, the "paschall" candle, and the "musicke" make up that part of the ceremony which Shakespeare seems to have had in mind when he created the setting for act five of The Merchant. As Googe notes, the liturgical ceremony begins when the lights are "quencth in every place," and all is darkness except the candle light kindled "from out the flint" (a liturgical symbol of

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[33] The Popish Kingdome, Thomas Naogeorgus, "Englyshed by Barnabe Googe, 1570," ed. Robert Charles Hope (London, 1880), pp. 52-53.

Christ as the light who "shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not overcome it" (John 1:5). On returning to Belmont Portia exclaims:

> That light we see is burning in my hall:
> How far that little candle throws his beams!
> So shines a good deed in a naughty world.
> (V.i.89-91)

The "Exultet": Sacrificial Love Leads to Life

From the beginning of the Easter vigil ceremony, the nighttime and musical settings, the images of candle and moon, the symbolic flicker of light, and the theme of sacrificial love are parallel with the garden scene at Belmont. According to the Salisbury Processional,[34] after the lighting of the "new fire" and the Easter candle, the people form a procession and follow the Easter candle into the darkened church while singing the following hymn:

> Inventor rutili dux bone luminis,
> Qui certis vecibus tempora dividis,
> Merso sole Chaos ingruit horridum,
> Lumen redde tuis Christe fidelibus.[35]

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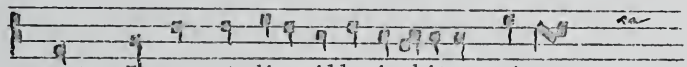
[34]In choosing the Sarum (or Salisbury) use for my study, I have considered the availability and the distinctive features of the three main uses: Sarum, York, and Hereford. The Sarum use was followed in London and in South England including Southampton. This is the liturgical use that Shakespeare would be most likely to encounter during his early career after he left Stratford and sought the patronage of the Earl of Southampton. The liturgical use of the Stratford area is called the Herefore use which would also be the use of the Arden family at Wilmcote near Stratford. If Shakespeare encountered the Easter vigil liturgy when his Company was on tour of the North during the plague, it would have been the York use. The verbal text of the Easter vigil is the same in these three uses. The rubrics and ceremonial directives are slightly different according to the local church customs and facilities. And the musical notation has the same basic melodic line but in varying degrees of ornateness. The Salisbury Processional, 1544, is of the Sarum use and is comparatively ornate.

[35]Salisbury Processional, 1544 (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1948), reel 482, folio lxxxvi, Appendix I, p. 167. Subsequent quotations

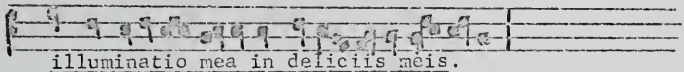
[Good Creator and master of the golden light,
You divided the seasons into precise periods;
Now as the sun sets, hideous chaos threatens us,
Restore light to your faithful ones, O Christ.]

After this the congregation stands in the darkened church with only the Easter Candle lighted and listens to the deacon sing the climactic "Exultet" hymn. The imagery is again primarily that of light:

Haec nox est de qua scriptum
(This is the night of which it is written:



est: Et nox ut dies illuminabitur: et nox
"The night shall be illumined like day," and



illuminatio mea in deliciis meis.
"My night shall be illumined by my rejoicing.")
(fo. xci, 180)

In subsequent lines the introductory motif repeats seven times that on such a night as this Jewish and Christian salvation history took place. Thus, it is the light, candles, and moon that constitute the setting for these memorable nights.

Connected with this light imagery is the fact that the Easter vigil is the only liturgical ceremony which always takes place at night in the light of the full moon. For according to the Prayer Book, "Easter Day, on which the rest depend, is always the first Sunday after the Full

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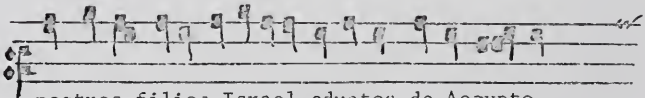
will be from this edition and the paginal citations will refer to Appendix I where a photostat of the Easter vigil service is given.

Moon"[36] of the vernal equinox. Nighttime, moon, candle, song, and the symbolic restoration of light, then, constitute the basic setting for the Easter vigil.

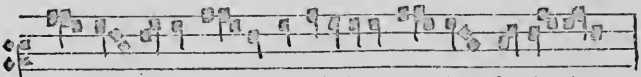
The garden scene at Belmont also has the same tone and setting that is found in the "Exultet." Against a background of candle light (V.i.90, 92, 220), moonlight (V,i.1,54,92,109,142), and music (V.i. 53, 55, 68, 69, 76, 82, 83, 97, 106) Lorenzo and Jessica reminisce that she "did run from Venice As far as Belmont" (V.i.16-7) and escaped the "hell" (II.iii.2) of Shylock's house.

Against this background, then, identical with the opening scene of act five of The Merchant, the deacon introduces the first theme that is parallel with one of the themes of The Merchant:

Haec nox est, in qua primum patres
(This is the night in which you led our



nostros filios Israel eductos de Aegypto
forefathers, the children of Israel, out of



rubrum mare sicco vestigio transire fecisti.
Egypt through the Red Sea with dry feet.)
(fo. xc, 178)

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36 "Calendar Rules," Prayer Book (1559), p. 16.

The "Exultet" here refers to the Biblical account of the night on which the Jews escaped from the bondage of Egypt:

> It is a night to be observed unto the Lorde, in the which hee brought them out of the land of Egypt: This is that night of the Lorde, which all the children of Israel must keepe throughout their generations.[37]
> (Exodus 12:42)

Elizabethans were familiar with this event because they also heard it as the first Scriptural lesson read at morning prayers on Easter in the liturgy of the Prayer Book.

It should be noted here that the fifth act of The Merchant is not an allegory modeled on the exodus motif or on the various motifs and imagery of the "Exultet." The "Exultet" does, however, contain Biblical and liturgical motifs, themes, and images which explain some of the patterns already in The Merchant and present them in a light which is not always sufficiently acknowledged. One of these patterns is the bondage-exodus motif. According to the Book of Exodus, God delivered his chosen people on such a night from the bondage of wealthy, powerful, and cruel Egypt, marvelously led them through the Red Sea and the desert, dropped manna in the way of starving people, and brought them into the promised land.

Here the ambivalence of Venice in The Merchant and of Egypt in the Old Testament invites comparison; the similarity between Belmont and the promised land also invites comparison. According to the Book of Genesis (chapters thirty-nine through fifty), God used the wealth and grain of Egypt to save Jacob and his twelve sons, the tribe of Israel.

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[37] Prayer Book (1559), p. 437.

But according to the Book of Exodus (chapters one through twelve) Egypt became the land of bondage, cruel masters, flesh pots, and golden calves.[38] For Elizabethans the city of Venice apparently evoked much of the same emotional response as a Babylon of Egypt did for the Jews. Thus, Thomas Coryate saw Venice as the "incomparable city," the "rich diadem and most flourishing garland of Christendom."[39] But Thomas Nashe felt that the Italian city had an unambiguous corrupting influence over the English traveler:

> From thence he brings the art of atheism, the art of epicurizing, the art of whoring, the art of poisoning, the art of sodimitry. The only probable good thing they have to keep us from utterly condemning it is that it maketh a man an excellent courtier, a curious carpet knight; which is, by interpretation, a fine close lecher, a glorious hypocrite. It is now a privy note amongst the better sort of men, when they would set a singular mark or brand on a notorious villain, to say he hath been in Italy.[40]

In The Merchant Venice is also ambivalent. It is the city of wealthy merchants, ready loans, gay dinners, evening masques, law and order. But it is also the place of bondage, usury, debt, inhospitable dinners, forgotten masques, deceitful business deals, and cruel laws.

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[38]At the foot of Mt. Sinai, the Israelites molded a calf with the golden earrings they had pilfered from the Egyptians and then worshipped it saying, "These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt" (Exodus 32:4). From this incident and especially from I Kings 12:28-9), where Jeroboam returns from Egypt and sets up bulls for worship, "It has generally been supposed that the Israelites borrowed calf-worship from the Egyptians" (The Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, ed. Samuel M. Jackson [New York, 1908], II, 345).

[39]Thomas Coryate, Coryat's Crudities, 1611 edition (New York, 1905), II, 427.

[40]Thomas Nashe, Selected Writings, The Unfortunate Traveller, ed. Stanley Wells (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), p. 259.

Belmont, on the other hand, stands in contrast with these harsh realities of the city. It is a promised land of resolution and harmony following a journey of turbulence and discord. At Belmont all are rejoicing in Antonio's escape from the cruel bond of Shylock. And all the main characters except Shylock are grateful for their blessings--"manna" dropped "in the way of starving people" (V.i.293-4).

When Lorenzo exclaims,

> Fair ladies, you drop manna in the way
> Of starved people
> (V.i.294-5)

he recalls the themes of exodus, suffering, trial, death, and new life. (Antonio's exclamation, "Sweet lady, you have given me life and living," V.i.286, is substantially the same.) Lorenzo is alluding to that memorable event recorded in Exodus when God miraculously preserved his chosen people in the desert after their escape from the bondage of Egypt and before their entry into the promised land. Exodus reads:

> And the children of Israel sayde unto them, Would to God we had dyed by the hand of the Lorde in the Land of Egypt, when we sate by the flesh pots, and when we did eate bread our bellies full: for ye have brought us out into this wildernes to kill this whole multitude with hunger. . .. behold, upon the ground in the wilderness there lay a small round thing, as small as the hoare frost on the ground. And when the children of Israel saw it, they said every one to his neighbor, It is Manna, . . . This is the bread which the Lorde hath given you to eate. . . . and so they did eate Manna, until they came into the borders of the land of Chanaan.
> (16:3, 14, 15, 35)

Elizabethans were also familiar with this passage read at morning prayers on February fourth in the liturgy of the Prayer Book.[41]

The exodus motif in The Merchant constitutes one of the basic

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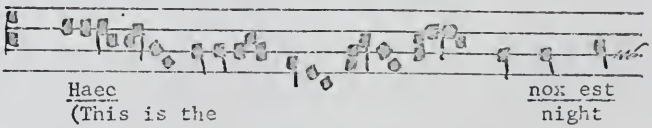
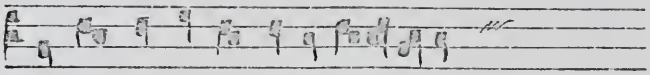
[41] Prayer Book (1559), p. 445.

movements of the play. Antonio, Bassanio, Jessica, Lorenzo, and Launcelot Gobbo all move away from a type of bondage associated with Venice and with Shylock and move toward a type of deliverance and resolution found at Belmont. And we have already seen in the previous section that Jessica and the Venetians look upon her conversion to Christianity as a type of exodus from the bonds of infidelity and Judaism.

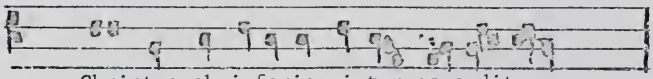
Associated with the motifs of bondage and exodus and parallel with another theme in The Merchant is the death motif in the "Exultet." Singing the "Exultet," the deacon repeats the melodic Haec nox est:



Haec nox est
(This is the night



in qua destructis vinculis mortis
in which Christ destroyed the bonds of



Christus ab inferis victor ascendit.
death and came forth a victor from hell.)[42]

This passage unites three themes: the bondage of death, the power of sacrificial love, and the triumph of Christ over death. Since all men

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[42]Folio xc, Appendix I, p. 178. In Medieval Latin the word inferus is the word for hell; see Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus, ed. J. F. Niermeyer (Leiden, Netherlands, 1958). In the Bishops' Bible, 1585, the verse "ex inferno inferiori," for example, is translated: "from the lowest part of hell" (Psalm 86:13).

die, death holds all in bondage. But the debt which brings about this bondage, according to St. Paul and the Christian tradition, is paid when Christ dies. For by his sacrificial love, Christ pays all men's debt; and by his resurrection--when he comes forth "ab inferis victor," a victor from hell--Christ releases men and breaks the bonds of death.

Moreover, Christ's sacrificial love brings new life, for all baptized believers benefit from Christ's triumphant resurrection when they imitate his death and resurrection in their lives. St. Paul writes:

> Know ye not, that all we which have been baptized into Jesus Christ, have been baptized into his death. We are buried then with him by baptism into his death, that likewise as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the father: even so, we also should walke in newnesse of life. For if we be grafted together by the likeness of his death: even so shall we bee partakers of the resurrection.
>
> (Rom. 6:3-5)

This New Testament description of resurrection and liberation from the bondage of death is the second Scriptural reading for morning prayers on Easter in the liturgy of the Prayer Book.[43]

These motifs of death bondage, sacrificial love, resurrection, and new life run through every act of The Merchant. In fact, one of the basic themes of The Merchant is that willingness to die for love brings new life. Thus, Shylock's pound of flesh which is vindictive and deadly figuratively leads to his own death; while Antonio's willingness to die for his friend is a sacrificial love which leads both him and his friend to new life. Others, also, move on as Antonio does toward an experience of willing, free, sacrificial love and new life.

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[43]Prayer Book (1559), p. 437. And as we saw earlier, chapter sixteen of Exodus, which describes the liberation of God's chosen people from the bondage of Egypt, is the first lesson for morning prayers on Easter.

In Act One Portia tells Nerissa that she is bound by the last will and testament of a dead father:

> O me, the word "choose"! I may neither
> Choose who I would, nor refuse who I dislike, so is the will of a living daughter
> curb'd by the will of a dead father.
> (I.ii.22-5)

In a sense, here death holds Portia's power to love in bondage until Bassanio releases her to a new life by choosing the right casket.

In Act Two Morocco experiences a form of bondage unto death and without resurrection when he chooses the golden casket. In choosing gold, his love is not "as wise as bold" (II.vii.70), and so the casket he opens is tomb-like:

> O hell! what have we here?
> A carrion Death, within whose empty eye
> There is a written scroll,--I'll read the writing.
> All that glisters is not gold,
> Often have you heard that told--
> Many a man, his life hath sold
> But my outside to behold,--
> Gilded tombs do worms infold.
> (II.vii.62-9)

Here Morocco discovers not love but hell and death; for, guided by appearances, he thinks to "thrive" (II.vii.60) by choosing gold, and so he judges by the "glistering" outside and finds but "worms" within. Love then for Morocco is "Cold indeed and labour lost" (II.vii.74). And since those suitors who "fail / Of the right casket" are "enjoined by oath" never "to woo a maid in way of marriage" (II.ix.9-13), Morocco is bound till death without love.

It is important here to note the contrasts between the lead and gold caskets and how they run parallel with the themes of death, sacrificial love, and resurrection found in the "Exultet." Paradoxically,

it is Bassanio's choice of the lead casket, a symbol of death and losing one's life, which brings him and Portia to new life and love. Thus, Bassanio's choice is similar to the central theme celebrated at Easter time in the "Exultet": the willingness to lose one's life for love is the choice that, paradoxically, gives life. At the Last Supper Jesus reminded his disciples: "This is my commandement, that ye love together, as I have loved you. Greater love hath no man then this that a man bestowe his life for his friendes" (John 15:12-13).

In contrast, however, when Morocco, the Moor, is confronted with the same paradoxic choice he chooses gold and consequently a "Gilded tomb." For Morocco's value system is similar to Shylock's. Just as Shylock evaluates himself and Antonio by the gold standard, namely, by the appearances of sufficiency, so Morocco in trying to win Portia's love judges by the gold standard:

> A golden mind stoops not to shows of dross.
> (II.vii.20)

> They have in England
> A coin that bears the figure of an angel
> Stam'd in gold, but that's insculp'd upon:
> But here an angel in a golden bed
> Lies all within. Deliver me the key:
> Here do I choose, and thrive I as I may.
> (II.vii.55-60)

The death-resurrection motif enters into Act Three when Antonio sees himself as a debtor who has forfeited his life and is bound to die at the hands of Shylock. Antonio writes to Bassanio:

> Sweet Bassanio, my ships have all miscarried,
> my creditors grow cruel, my estate is very low,
> my bond to the Jew is forfeit and (since in paying
> it, it is impossible I should live), all debts
> are clear'd between you and I, if I might but see
> you at my death: notwithstanding, use your pleasure,
> --if your love do not persuade you to come, let
> not my letter. (III.ii.314-20)

Here Antonio makes it clear that he is willing to accept death "since in paying" Bassanio's debt, says Antonio, "it is impossible I should live." But he is willing to accept this death only out of love for his friend, and he confronts Bassanio with the willing obligation of a similar love: "if your love do not persuade you to come, let not my letter." In accepting Antonio's love Bassanio must be generous, for he must acknowledge that his friend is willing to die for him. And Bassanio does return a similar willingness to sacrifice himself for his friend:

> Antonio, I am married to a wife
> Which is as dear to me as life itself.
> But life itself, my wife, and all the world
> Are not with me esteem'd above thy life.
> I would lose all, ay sacrifice them all
> Here to this devil, to deliver you.
> (IV.i.278-83)

Apparently both Antonio and Bassanio evaluate their love by the same paradoxic standards celebrated in the "Exultet" and on Easter. Because they are willing to die for love they expect to triumph over the bondage of Shylock's deadly hate.

According to Antonio the bonds of love are the only debt to be contracted by Christians. Thus he rejects usury and wants Bassanio to be present and witness the willingness of his sacrifice. Antonio tells Bassanio:

> Repent but you that you shall lose your friend
> And he repents not that he pays your debt.
> For if the Jew do cut but deep enough,
> I'll pay it instantly with all my heart.
> (IV.i.274-7)

Although Bassanio's monetary debt is going to cost Antonio his life, Antonio does not want to be obligated to die for money but for love and friendship. Antonio is suggesting, then, that love's bond is greater

than death and more binding than Shylock's hate and money--an idea that runs parallel with the First Epistle of Saint Peter. Speaking of the love of Christ which brought new life into the world, St. Peter says that Christ paid mankind's debt not with money but with his blood:

> For as much as ye know, how that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vayne conversation, which ye received by the tradition of the fathers: But with the precious blood of Christ.
>
> (I Peter 1:18-19)

Act Five particularly contains examples of the death-bondage-sacrificial love motif. In the ring quarrels, the true love of Bassanio for Portia and Gratiano for Nerissa is supposed to bind them till death. Nerissa reminds Gratiano:

> You swore to me when I did give it you,
> That you would wear it till your hour of death.
> (V.i.152-3)

Again, it is sacrificial love that binds till death and gives new life, for the ring is symbolic of Portia's willing gift of herself:

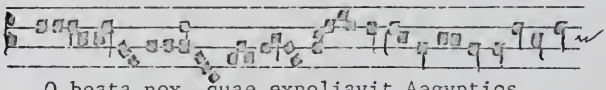
> This house, these servants, and this same myself
> Are yours,--my lord's!--I give them with this ring
> Which when you part from, lose, or give away,
> Let it presage the ruin of your love.
> (III.ii.170-3)

Also in Act Five Lorenzo and Jessica focus on love, death, and bondage in each of their classical allusions. "In such a night," Troilus, Thisbe, Dido, and Medea transcended the bondage of death out of love. (These classical allusions will be discussed in detail later.)

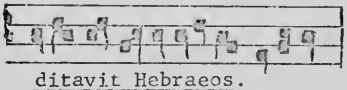
Shakespeare, of course, did not have to go to the "Exultet" for the idea of death's bond being broken by sacrificial love since the idea is well incorporated in Christian literature and is current in much of the liturgical and religious thought of Elizabethan England. Neverthe-

less, in The Merchant, as in the "Exultet," self-sacrificing love triumphs over the bondage of hate and death. Moreover, this theme occurs in a similar setting in both The Merchant and the "Exultet." For in Act Five when Lorenzo and Jessica notice "How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon the bank" and how the "sounds of music Creep in our ears," they recall that "In such a night" as this the bonds of death were broken by love. Troilus, Thisbe, Dido, Medea, Antonio, and Jessica, all in various ways, were triumphant martyrs for love.[44]

Another theme of the "Exultet," which is parallel to the justice theme in The Merchant, is that of the Jews robbing the Egyptians of their jewels before they left Egypt. In the "Exultet" the deacon sings about the night on which this took place,



O beata nox, quae expoliavit Aegyptios,
(O happy night, which despoiled the Egyptians



ditavit Hebraeos.
and enriched the Jews.) (fo. xcii, 182)

The "Exultet" is referring here to Jewish history as it is recorded in the Book of Exodus:

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[44]Later I discuss Chaucer's classification of Thisbe, Dido, and Medea as martyrs for love in the Legend of Good Women, the recognized source for Shakespeare's classical allusions in V.i.7-14.

> And they borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of golde, and rayment. And the Lorde gave the people favour in the light of the Egyptians, so that they graunted such thinges as they required: and they robbed the Egyptians.[45]

There seems to be no question here about the justice of the Jews despoiling the Egyptians. For the "Exultet" celebrates the event; and the Book of Exodus proclaims that the Jews are to thank the Lord annually:

> It is a night to be observed unto the Lorde, in the which hee brought them out of the Land of Egypt: this is that night of the Lorde, which all the children of Israel must keepe throughout their generations.
> (Exodus 12:42)

Moreover, as we saw earlier, in the Old Testament the Jews are God's chosen people:

> For thou art an holy people unto the Lorde thy God: the Lorde thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself, above all nations that are upon the earth.
> (Deut. 7:6)

And so they are blessed with the Lord's assistance and providence. It was the Lord who struck the Egyptians with plagues and delivered his chosen people with his mighty hand:

> . . . because the Lorde loved you . . . therefore hath the Lorde brought you out through a mighty hand, and delivered you out of the house of bondage, from the hand of Pharao king of Egypt.
> (Deut. 7:8)

Since the Bible and the liturgy were authoritative sanctions for Christians in the Renaissance, this despoiling of the Egyptians sheds

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[45]Exodus 12:35-6. According to the "New Calendar" in the Prayer Book (1559), this chapter of Exodus is the first lesson for morning prayers on Easter. These morning prayers, in Cranmer's revision of the liturgy, take the place of the Easter vigil service.

significant light on Shylock's taking interest from Christians and Jessica's despoiling Shylock when she fled from Venice. There are already enough overtones of the exodus in The Merchant to justify considering The Merchant in terms of it.

Although it is Shylock who considers himself one of the Lord's chosen people with a right to take interest from the Christians, it is Jessica turned Christian who actually despoils Shylock and seems to share the same approval that Exodus attributes to the chosen people when they "robbed" the Egyptians. For although Shylock considers himself as one of the Lord's chosen people, he seems to be the only one in The Merchant who does so.

When Shylock thinks of himself in this way he usually introduces an element of tension between himself as a Jew and others as Christians. As we saw in chapter one, he refers to his "tribe," "our sacred nation," and the "ancient grudge" he bears against the despised Gentiles while he meditates revenge against Antonio: "I hate him for he is a Christian" (I.iii.37). Also, Shylock's opinion of himself as one of the Lord's chosen people is based on a careful distinction between thrift, theft, advantage, and prodigality. Shylock specifically rejects theft, but with Biblical quotations he defends his right to occult compensation and taking advantage of those who are prodigal. For him usury is thrift not theft:

> This was a way to thrive, and he [Jacob] was blest:
> And thrift is blessing if men steal it not.
> (I.iii.84-5)

However, thrift does not thrive; theft does, risk does, prodigality does, and sacrificial love does. If Shylock is correct in thinking

that increase is a sign of God's blessing to his chosen people, then it is the Christians--generous with love and prodigal with money--who are blessed. Moreover, just as Jacob tricked Laban out of his ewes and lambs with what Shylock considers the Lord's blessing when he fled his uncle's domination, and just as the Jews despoiled the Egyptians of their silver and jewels when the Lord "brought them out of the land of Egypt with great power, and with a mightie hand" (Exodus 32:11), so Jessica runs from her father taking his ducats and jewels.

Thus, Shylock's argument that increase be recognized as a sign of God's approval and blessing ironically becomes a sign of contradiction. For Antonio does not have to pay even the principal on his loan (IV.i. 332-5) but receives instead one half of Shylock's wealth (IV.i.366) which he keeps "in use, to render it Upon [Shylock's] death unto the gentleman," Lorenzo (IV.i.379-80). And Lorenzo and Jessica become beneficiaries to Shylock's will: "a gift . . . of all he dies possess'd/ Unto his son Lorenzo and his daughter" (IV.i.384-6). To use the words of Shylock--"This was a way to thrive, and . . . [they were] blest" (I. iii.84). Moreover, the "hand of heaven" which brings about the loss of Antonio's argosies just long enough for him to forfeit his bond to Shylock also returns his ships. Shakespeare, then, permits us to watch not the "hand of heaven" but Jessica and the Christians of Venice despoil Shylock. In contrast with the paradoxical Christian choice of death which leads to life, Shylock chooses increase and profit through the legal destruction of his competitor but actually finds a type of death: "you take my life / When you do take the means whereby I live (IV.i. 372-373).

Another parallel between the "Exultet" and The Merchant is the escape from bondage through Baptism. Although Shylock considers himself one of the Lord's chosen people, a descendent of the promise, and an heir to the promised land, Jessica and the Venetians feel that she is one of the new elect when she escapes from the hell of Shylock's house and becomes a Christian. For Jessica and the Venetians, the old covenant promise and election are replaced by the new covenant.

The liturgy also reflects this idea when it prays that the Jews be converted and so become the truly chosen Israelites:

> And so fetch them home, blessed Lord, to thy flock, that, they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold under one shepherd Jesus Christ our Lord.[46]

The "Exultet" in the Roman liturgy explains further that baptism is the New Testament equivalent to liberation from bondage, passage through the Red Sea, and initiation into the communion of saints--the Christian term for Shylock's "sacred nation." The text of the "Exultet" reads:

> Haec nox est, quae hodie per universum mundum in christum credentes, a vitiis saeculi segregatos et caligine peccatorum, reddit gratiae, sociat sanctitati.
>
> [This is the night which returns to grace those throughout the whole world now believing in Christ, and unites those separated from worldly vices and the darkness of sin to the communion of saints.]
>
> (fo. xc, 177-178)

Lorenzo's version of this doctrine of God's chosen people reflects his own prejudice and that of his Venetian friends. Speaking to Gratiano, Lorenzo explains that Jessica,

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[46] Prayer Book (1559), Collect for Good Friday, p. 119.

hath directed
How I shall take her from her father's house,
What gold and jewels she is furnish'd with
What page's suit she hath in readiness,--
If e'er the Jew her father come to heaven,
It will be for his gentle daughter's sake,
And never dare misfortune cross her foot,
Unless she do it under this excuse,
That she is issue to a faithless Jew.
(II.iv.29-37)

Lorenzo's pun on gentile ("the words were not completely distinguished in spelling at this time"[47]) is significant here because, as he sees it, Jessica's becoming a "gentle" is the only claim Shylock can make to "come to heaven"; while her being "issue to a faithless Jew" is the only "excuse" available for "misfortune [to] cross her foot." Lorenzo literally claims God's approval of Christians with a vengeance.

Later, the same pun on gentile leads to another image from Exodus. Portia, pleading mercy as opposed to strict justice, tells Shylock: "We all expect a gentle answer Jew!" (IV.i.34). But when Shylock insists that his bond be executed to the letter of the law, Antonio laments:

You may as well do any thing most hard
As seek to soften that--than which what's harder?--
His Jewish heart!
(IV.i.78-80)

The image, again, is that of Exodus. For Pharao was punished with ten successive plagues and finally despoiled by the chosen people because he "hardened his heart" (Exodus 1:32; the phrase is used as a Biblical motif, see, for example, 7:13, 7:14, 7:22, 8:15, and 8:19). For the Venetians the identification of Shylock is complete; he is not a member of the chosen, "sacred nation," but a hard-hearted Pharao holding Christians

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[47] Arden edition, p. 49. Gratiano makes the same pun later: "Now (by my hood) a gentle, and no Jew" (II.vii.51).

like Antonio, Launcelot, and Jessica in bondage and who, like Laban and Pharao, deserves to be despoiled.

In the fifth act of The Merchant, then, the phrase In such a night gives many indications of being modeled on the same phrase in the Easter vigil "Exultet." In both the "Exultet" and the garden scene at Belmont there is a nighttime setting with moonlight, song, and candle. In both there is an atmosphere of meditative joy and quiet celebration. There is a sense of being delivered from bondage. And in both there is an extended consideration of the standard Christian paradox: willingness to lose one's life is the condition for finding it. In his reference to Troilus and Cressid, Lorenzo initiates this consideration.

Jessica as "Tesbe Babilonie, Martiris"

By alluding to Troilus and Cressid in the lovers' quarrel of Act Five, Lorenzo playfully suggests that Jessica's love might not be as untroubled and trustworthy as the lovely, idyllic, moonlit setting of Belmont might suggest. In response to this Jessica clothes her allusion to Thisbe in equally delicate and beautiful poetry:

> In such a night
> Did Thisbe fearfully o'ertrip the dew,
> And saw the lion's shadow ere himself,
> And ran dismayed away.
> (V.i.6-9)

Following the lead of Lorenzo, Jessica associates the brightness of the moon with another classical example of young lovers, Pyramus and Thisbe. But her use of such words as fearfully, o'ertrip, shadow, dismayed, and ran away indicate a shift in tone. Instead of the pleasant imagery which Lorenzo uses with irony, Jessica uses imagery which suggests fear and

apprehension, for she wants to create the impression that she is like Thisbe--alone and waiting for her tardy lover with no one to protect her.

Jessica's allusion is also more pertinent and relevant to her situation since it recalls elopement, parental conflict, mortal danger, and love until death. Jessica is suggesting that although Troilus had little to do with Cressid's going over to the enemy camp, Pyramus had much to do with Thisbe's problems with her father and with her running away from home, and Lorenzo, in turn, had also had much to do with Jessica's theft and running from home. Besides, Lorenzo is the one who is not trustworthy for he came late for their tryst, as Salerio observed earlier:

> Gra. This is the penthouse under which Lorenzo
> Desired us to make stand.
> Sal. His hour is almost past.
> Gra. And it is marvel he out-dwells his hours,
> For lovers ever run before the clock.
> Sal. O ten times faster Venus' pigeons fly
> To seal love's bonds new-made, than they are wont
> To keep obliged faith unforfeited!
> . . . . . .
> Here comes Lorenzo. . . .
> Lor. Sweet friends, your patience for my long abode
> (Not I but my affairs have made you wait).
> (II.vi.1-7,20-22)

Perhaps the implications of Jessica's response will be more obvious if we see her allusion in the light of its source, which most editors and critics feel was Chaucer's Legend of Good Women (796-812).[48]

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[48]Joseph Hunter was the first to note that for Jessica's allusion "Shakespeare was also indebted to Chaucer; that, in fact, the old folio of Chaucer was lying open before him when he wrote this dialogue, and that there he found Thisbe, Dido, and Medea, as well as Troilus. It is at least certain that Thisbe, Dido, and Medea do occur together in Chaucer's Legend of Good Women, which in the folio immediately follows the "Troilus" (New Illustrations of the Life, Studies and Writings of Shakespeare [London, 1845], I, 313).

The story in Chaucer's Legend of Good Women reads as follows (this selection is necessarily lengthy because Shakespeare borrows scattered images and captures the tone of the whole passage):

> Tyl on a day, whan Phebus gan to cleere--
> Aurora with the stremes of hire hete
> Hadde dreyed up the dew of herbes wete--
> Unto this clyft, as it was wont to be,
> Com Piramus, and after com Thysbe,
> And plyghten trouthe fully in here fey
> That like same nyght to stele away,
> And to begile here wardeyns everichon,
> And forth out of the cite for to goon; (773-781)
>
> . . . . . .
>
> This Tisbe hath so gret affeccioun
> And so gret haste Piramus to se,
> That whan she say hire tyme myghte be,
> At nyght she stal awey ful pryvyly,
> With hire face ywympled subtyly; (793-979)
>
> . . . . . .
>
> For alle hire frendes--for to save hire trouthe--
> She hath forsake; allas! and that is roughe
> That evere woman wolde ben so trewe
> To truste man, but she the bet hym knewe! (798-801)
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Allas! than cometh a wilde lyonesse
> Out of the wode, withoute more arest,
> With blody mouth, of strangelynge of a best,
> To drynken of the welle there as she sat.
> And whan that Tisbe hadde espyed that
> She rist hire up, with a ful drery heret,
> And in a cave with dredful fot she sterte,
> For by the mone she say it wel withalle.
> And as she ran, hire wympel let she falle. (805-813)
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The mone shon, and he myghte wel yse. . . (825)
> "Allas," quod he, "the day that I was born!
> This o nyght wol us lovers bothe sle!
> How shulde I axe mercy of Tisbe,
> Whan I am he that have yow slayn, allas!
> My biddyng hath yow slayn, as in this cas.
> Allas! to bidde a woman gon by nyghte
> In place there as peril falle myghte!
> And I so slow!". . . . (833-840)
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Now Tisbe, which that wiste nat of this,
> But sittynge in hire drede, she thoughte thus:

"If it so falle that my Pramus
Be comen hider, and may me not yfynde,
He may me holde fals and ek unkynde."
And out she cometh and after hym gan espien,
Bothe with hire herte and with hire yen,
And thoughte, "I wol hym tellen of my drede,
Bothe of the lyonesse and al my deede." (853-860)

. . . . . .

"I wol thee folwe ded, and I wol be
Felawe and cause ek of thy deth," quod she.
"And thogh that nothing, save the deth only,
Mighte thee from me departe now fro me
Than fro the deth, for I wol go with thee.
And now, ye wrechede jelos fadres oure,
We that whilom were children youre,
We preyen yow, withouten more envye,
That in o grave yfere we moten lye,
Sith love hath brought us to this pitous ende.
And ryghtwis God to every lovere sende,
That loveth trewely, more prosperite
Than evere yit had Piramus and Tisbe!" (894-907)

Again, as in Lorenzo's allusion to Troilus, Shakespeare has selected the basic images--the dew, the lovers' plighted "trouthe," Thisbe's haste in coming to meet Pyramus, the lion, the moon, Thisbe's running, and her dread. Joseph Hunter, who was the first to note that Shakespeare used Chaucer's version of the Thisbe legend, felt safe in saying that "the old folio of Chaucer was lying open before him when he wrote this dialogue, and that there he found Thisbe, Dido, and Medea, as well as Troilus."[49] Dover Wilson, however, concludes that Shakespeare had only a general recollection of the Thisbe story as he was writing: "As for Thisbe, thereby hangs a tale of blended memories, memories of Chaucer--this time of his Legend of Good Women--on the one hand, and of Golding's Book IV, 67-201, on the other."[50] In any case, Chaucer was the one who

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[49]Joseph Hunter, New Illustrations, I, 313.

[50]Dover Wilson, "Shakespeare's 'small Latin'--how much?" Shakespeare Survey, X (1957), 21.

emphasized the all-for-love devotion of Thisbe which appears in all versions. And the important thing to note is that Shakespeare has adapted this theme and his source to the speaker's needs and to the context of the lovers' quarrel.

Through the beauty of their poetry and the objectivity of their allusions, Lorenzo and Jessica preserve the appearance of taking tranquil delight in the moonlit garden of Belmont. But in their playful lovers' quarrel they hide their arguments behind a feigned seriousness. Jessica acknowledges the beauty of the quiet garden, the bright moon, and the soft breeze "In such a night," but she also claims to be a woman quite unlike Cressid. Jessica argues that she is not like the unfaithful Cressid but like Thisbe, one of the saints and martyrs on Cupid's calendar, as in Chaucer's Legend of Good Women. According to the central fiction of the "Prologue" of the Legend, Chaucer was commissioned by the god of love to spend his remaining days,

> In makyng of a glorious legende,
> Of goode wymmen, maydenes and wyves,
> That weren trewe in lovyng al hire lyves;
> And telle of false men that hem bytraien.[51]

"Tisbe, that hast for love swich peyne" (261), is one of those good women of antiquity "That weren trewe in lovyng al hire lyves."

Jessica, then, is answering Lorenzo's charges by playfully suggesting that she is not like Cressid but rather like the good, faithful, loving "Tesbe Babilonie, martiris,"[52] who left her father and home in

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[51]"Prologue" to The Legend of Good Women, lines 482-486.

[52]Chaucer's legend of Thisbe is subtitled: "Incipit Legenda Tesbe Babilonie, martiris," the usual form used to introduce the life of a saint and martyr in the Martyrology.

the city and ran fearfully to the country, ready to expose herself to the wild beasts as a martyr for true love.

Jessica's allusion to Thisbe is also relevant to many of the events that have transpired in The Merchant. In both The Merchant and the story of Pyramus and Thisbe there are elements of secret love, disobedience to the father, and elopement. Pyramus and Thisbe, as Chaucer notes, "plyghten troughte fully in here fey" and planned "that like some nyghte to stele away," escaping from the "wrechede jelos fadres oure." Then when "The mone shon" so bright that they "myghte wel yse" they "begile here wardeyns everichon" and went "forth out of the cite." Moreover, Thisbe's sacrifice for love was great, for she chose to "forsake" "all hire frendes--for to save hire trouthe."[53]

An important part of Jessica's argument is her allusion to the irresponsibility of Pyramus in contrast with Thisbe's trustworthiness. Thisbe, the good woman, came on time, kept her word, "save [d] hire trouthe," when she did "fearfully o'ertrip the dew." And like a martyr she found only a "lion's shadow ere himself," "ran dismayed away," and returned again only to meet death. Jessica is covertly reminding Lorenzo of his own responsibility, for in The Legend of Good Women Pyramus holds himself responsible for Thisbe's death:

> My biddying hath yow slayn, as in this cas.
> Allas! to bidde a woman gon by nyghte
> In place there peril falle myghte!
> (837-9)

Thisbe was anxious to be with her lover, but Pyramus was tardy; Thisbe was courageous in going into the woods at night unprotected, but Pyramus

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[53] Trouthe means faithfulness, honesty, solemn promise. OED.

was imprudent in asking her to do so.

One of the problems editors have encountered in the Thisbe allusion is the meaning of Jessica's phrase, "And saw the lion's shadow ere himself" (V.i.8). Henry Hudson explains that Thisbe saw the lion's shadow "ere she saw the lion himself."[54] Malone suggests that "Thisbe may be supposed to have seen the lion's shadow by moon-light in the water of the fountain near the tomb of Ninus."[55] And Brown adds that "shadow can mean reflection."[56] Brown also notes that Chaucer speaks of a lioness: "Allas! than cometh a wilde lyonesse."[57] In the sources Ovid, Gower, and Golding refer to a lioness frightening Thisbe. But, as Kenneth Muir points out,[58] Elizabethan versions were divided about the sex of the lion, and Shakespeare was obviously aware of this when he had Snug the joiner in A Midsummer Night's Dream apprehensively explain that he was neither a lion nor a lion's dam:

> You, ladies, you, whose gentle hearts do fear
> The smallest monstrous mouse that creeps on floor,
> May now perchance both quake and tremble here,
> When lion rough in wildest rage doth roar.
> Then know that I, one Snug the joiner, am
> A lion fell, nor else no lion's dam.
> (V.i.222-7)

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[54] Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, ed. Henry N. Hudson (Boston, 1900), p. 182n.

[55] Malone Shakespeare, 1790, X, 583.

[56] Arden edition, 125n.

[57] The Legend of Good Women, 805.

[58] Kenneth Muir, "Pyramus and Thisbe: A Study in Shakespeare's Method," S. Q., V, Spring (1954), 150.

In the context of the lovers' quarrel and in view of the subtle thrusts of Lorenzo and Jessica at one another, I feel that Jessica's phrase "the lion's shadow ere himself" is functionally ambiguous. There is always the probability that a possible explanation may contain an intended meaning. And in the context Jessica is clearly trying to emphasize the "trouthe" and goodness of Thisbe and the irresponsibility of Pyramus. The Pyramus she has in mind not only allowed Thisbe to enter the forest at night without father, husband, lover, or servant to protect her, but he even came late--after the lion had already frightened Thisbe away. True, both had given their word to meet at Ninus' tomb; true, Thisbe was not there when Pyramus arrived. But it is also true that Thisbe's ardent love and fidelity to her word brought her to the appointed place on time, and true it is that a fell lion arrived before the sluggish Pyramus. It is possible, then, that Jessica is saying that in such a night Thisbe fearfully ran to meet her love, but she saw a lion's shadow "ere" she saw her lover "himself" and so was forced to flee. Thus, Jessica is covertly exonerating herself: when Lorenzo suggests that Cressid ran out on Troilus, Jessica suggests that Pyramus was to blame when Thisbe was forced to run.

If these explanations of the Thisbe allusion are accurate reflections of what is going on between Jessica and Lorenzo, their playful quarrel, up to this point, runs as follows. Lorenzo playfully suggests that he is a faithful Troilus, sighing out his soul for a questionably faithful Cressid. Jessica replies that she is more like the faithful Thisbe; and Lorenzo, like Pyramus, should take responsibility for the part he has had in her alienation from her father, in her abandonment of the Jewish faith, and in her elopement. Like Thisbe, a martyr in

Cupid's calendar, she is ready to sacrifice all for love.

Dido or Ariadne? Error or Adaptation?

Lorenzo's response to Jessica is as follows:

> In such a night
> Stood Dido with a willow in her hand
> Upon the wild sea banks and waft her love
> To come again to Carthage.
> (V.i.9-12)

Here Shakespeare has introduced a long-standing critical problem, for all the commentators on this passage point out that Shakespeare has confused Dido with Ariadne. Many critics then go on to use this as a prime example of Shakespeare's "small Latine, and lesse Greeke." In the third variorum edition of Shakespeare, for example, Steevens reflects the standard eighteenth-century[59] belief that Shakespeare's classical learning was so inadequate that he confused Ariadne and Dido. According to Steevens, "This passage contains a small instance out of many that might be brought to prove that Shakespeare was no reader of the classicks."[60] Malone adds: "For the willow the poet must answer, but I believe he here recollected Chaucer's description of Ariadne in a similar situation."[61] Editors and critics since this have generally found it necessary to acknowledge what they consider to be Shakespeare's mistake and apologize for it. Thus, Dover Wilson concludes that Shakespeare

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[59] See, also, T. W. Baldwin's third chapter, "The Eighteenth Century Canonizes the 'Little Latin' Tradition," in William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke (Urbana, 1944), I, 53-74.

[60] Malone Shakespeare, 1790, III, 91n.

[61] Malone Shakespeare, 1790, X, 583.

> has, no doubt unconsciously, gone to the wrong love-lorn lady, since it was Ariadne, deserted by Theseus and not Dido deserted by Aeneas, who stood upon the shore and beckoned her lover to return; a confusion first noted by Malone.[62]

The description of Ariadne which Malone and other critics have in mind is in Chaucer's The Legend of Good Women:

> And to the stronde barefot fast she wente,
> And cryed, "Theseus! myn herte swete!"
> . . . . . .
> No man she saw, and yit shyned the mone,
> And hye upon a rokke she wente sone,
> And saw his barge saylynge in the se.
> . . . . . .
> Hire coverchef on a pole up steked she,
> Ascaunce that he shulde it wel yse,
> And hym remembre that she was behynde,
> And turne ageyn, and on the stronde hire fynde.
> But al for nought; his wey he is ygon.
> (2189-2206)

This description of Ariadne, however, is based on Ovid's tenth Epistle of the Heroides.[63] And so R. K. Root concludes that the Legend of Good Women is parallel with Shakespeare's version in such a general way that it is difficult to tell whether Shakespeare would have "had Chaucer in mind rather than Ovid."[64] And Wilson ventures: "Shakespeare was drawing upon memory, and memory alone."[65] Thus, if we assume, with these critics, that Shakespeare was only vaguely aware of the Dido legend when

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[62]"Shakespeare's 'small Latin'--how much?" p. 22. Wilson does qualify this view of "Shakespeare's wayward dealings with Dido" when he says, "It would be ridiculous, however, to suppose that he was ignorant of her story," p. 23.

[63]See Walter W. Skeat, The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (Oxford, 1894), III, 339.

[64]Robert Kilburn Root, Classical Mythology in Shakespeare (New York, 1965), p. 57.

[65]Dover Wilson, "Shakespeare's 'small Latin'--how much?" p. 22.

he wrote The Merchant, we can dismiss the problem by saying, first, that Shakespeare's source is irrelevant and so there is no reason to exclude any of the similar versions of Ariadne available to Elizabethans,[66] and second, that there is no reason to exclude the possibility of an original composition beginning with Dido as a mere type of the good woman pitifully abandoned.

It should be noted, however, that the legend of Dido occurs frequently in Elizabethan literature. Besides Gower's Confessio Amantis, Turbeville's translation of the Heroides, and Elizabethan ballads of Dido,[67] Shakespeare would have been well acquainted with Marlowe's

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[66]For example, Gower's Confessio Amantis, V, 5436-5483, and George Turbeville's 1567 version of Ovid's Heroides, Epistle X.

[67]Thomas Percy gives a popular Elizabethan ballad of "Queen Dido" which reads as follows for the last two stanzas:

And, rowling on her carefull bed,
With sighes and sobbs, these words shee sayd:
O wretched Dido queene! quoth shee,
I see thy end approacheth neare;
For hee is fled away from thee
Whom thou didst love and hold so deare:
What is he gone, and passed by?
O hart, prepare thyselfe to dye.
Though reason says, thou shouldst forbeare,
And stay thy hand from bloudy stroke;
Yet fancy bids thee not to fear,
Which fetter'd thee in Cupids yoke.
Come death, quoth shee, resolve my smart!--
And with those words shee peerced her hart.
(Song 22, lines 49-66, p. 194)

Percy notes: "This once popular ballad was entered on the Registers of the Stationers Company in 1564-5 as 'a ballet intituled The Wanderynge Prince.' Its great popularity is evidenced by the frequent references in literature and the large number of ballads sung to the tune of Queen Dido or Troy Towne. In The Penniless Parliament of Threadbare Poets, 1608, ale-knights are said to 'sing Queen Dido over a cup and tell strange news over an ale-pot,' and the same song is referred to in Fletcher's Captain (act III, sc. 3) and his Bonduca (act I, sc. 2)." (Thomas Percy, Reliques of Ancient English Poetry [London, 1877],Vol. III, pp. 191-2).

Tragedy of Dido which was finished by Nashe in 1593 and published in 1594. The title page indicates that it had been acted by the children of her Majesty's Chapel. In the last sensational scene of Marlowe's play, Dido mounts the funeral pyre erected on the banks of the sea and exclaims:

> Now Dido, with these relics burn thyself,
> And make Aeneas famous through the world
> For perjury and slaughter of a queen.[68]

Her dying words are: "Live, false Aeneas! truest Dido dies!" (V.i.312).

After examining all of Shakespeare's dramatic allusions to Dido and Ariadne, I have come to the conclusion that Shakespeare was well aware of the difference between Dido and Ariadne, and that Lorenzo's allusion in V.i.9-12 is not an error but an adaptation of the classical legends of Dido and Ariadne to Lorenzo's stance in the lovers' quarrel and to the theme of choosing death for love. Many scholars have already demonstrated Shakespeare's knowledge of the classics and the rather full classical knowledge of Elizabethans in general,[69] although they have not used Lorenzo's allusion as an example of this knowledge. Thus, before seeing Lorenzo's allusion in the context of the lovers' quarrel, I will introduce here an examination of all Shakespeare's Dido and Ariadne allusions showing that they are accurate in detail, suited to the speaker's character and intentions, and adapted to the context of the play in which they occur.

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[68] Christopher Marlowe, The Life of Marlowe and the Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke (London, 1930), V.i.292-4.

[69] See, for example, F. K. Root, Classical Mythology in Shakespeare: H. R. D. Anders, Shakespeare's Books; J. S. Smart, Shakespeare, Truth and Tradition; T. W. Baldwin, William Shakespere's Small Latine, & Lesse Greeke; and Percy Simpson, "Shakespeare's Use of Latin Authors," Studies in Elizabethan Drama.

Shakespeare alludes to Dido in the following plays:

2 Hen VI	(1591-2)	III.ii.114-120
Titus	(1593-4)	II.iii.20-6; V.iii.79-87
Shrew	(1593-4)	II.i.157-61
Romeo	(1594-5)	II.iv.40-5
Dream	(1595-6)	I.i.169-178
Merchant	(1595-7)	V.i.9-12
Hamlet	(1600-02)	II.ii.466-70
Antony	(1606-7)	IV.xiv.53-4
Tempest	(1611-12)	II.i.76, 78, 81, 100, 101.

He alludes to Ariadne in:

Two Gent.	(1594-5)	IV.iv.171
Dream	(1595-6)	II.i.80

The first six of the Dido allusions, including The Merchant, fall within the short span of five years between 1592-1597. In all of them except The Merchant the details of the allusion correspond exactly with the details of the classical story. In fact, R. K. Root feels that the allusions to Dido are so "numerous and substantially accurate" that "The story of Dido in Aeneid I-IV must have been familiar to Shakespeare from his boyhood."[70] If, then, Shakespeare's allusions to Dido in these plays are all "substantially accurate," his allusion in The Merchant, written about the same time, can hardly be unintentionally confused. Moreover, an analysis of these allusions should demonstrate not only Shakespeare's familiarity with the legend of Dido but also his interpretation of the story and some of his methods of integrating the allusions into his own plays.

The earliest allusion to Dido occurs in The Second Part of King Henry the Sixth. In this play Queen Margaret compares herself to Dido,

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[70] R. K. Root, Classical Mythology in Shakespeare, p. 56.

Suffolk to Ascanius (the son of Aeneas), and King Henry to Aeneas who also wooed a queen through the bewitching tongue of his proxy. Margaret speaks:

> How often have I tempted Suffolk's tongue,
> The agent of thy foul inconstancy,
> To sit and witch me, as Ascanius did,
> When he to madding Dido would unfold
> His father's acts commenced in burning Troy!
> Am I not witched like her? Or thou not false like him?
> Aye me, I can no more! Die, Margaret!
> (III.ii.114-120)

This allusion would at first seem to compound our problem since all the critics, with the exception of James Boswell (1778-1822),[71] have echoed Louis Theobald in finding it inaccurate.[72] Theobald notes:

> The poet here is unquestionably alluding to Virgil (Aeneid i) but he strangely blends fact with fiction. In the first place, it was Cupid in the semblance of Ascanius, who sat in Dido's lap, and was fondled by her. But then it was not Cupid who related to her the process of Troy's destruction; but it was Aeneas himself who related this history.[73]

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[71] Boswell notes: "When Dido was caressing the supposed Ascanius, she would naturally speak to him about his father, and would be <u>witched</u> by what she learned from him, as well as by the more regular narrative which she had heard from Aeneas himself." <u>Malone Shakespeare</u>, 1821, <u>2 Henry VI</u>, p. 259n.

[72] Malone comments: "this mistake was certainly the mistake of Shakespeare, whoever may have been the original author of the first sketch of this play; for this long speech of Margaret's is founded on one in the quarto, consisting only of seven lines, in which there is no allusion to Virgil" (<u>Malone Shakespeare</u>, 1821, p. 259b). Tucker Brooke, in the <u>Yale Shakespeare</u>, says that "The allusion is new with the reviser, and like many of Shakespeare's classical references is not minutely accurate" p. 134. Cairncross (<u>Arden</u> edition, 1954) quotes Theobald: "It was 'Cupid in the semblance of Ascanius . . .'" p. 84n. William Rolfe quotes Theobald and dismisses Boswell's explanation: "The oversight--for such we have no doubt it was--is explained away by Boswell, who says that 'while Dido was caressing the supposed Ascanius. . . . " (<u>Shakespeare's History of King Henry the Sixth</u>, Part II, ed. William J. Rolfe [New York, 1882], p. 166n).

[73] <u>Malone Shakespeare</u>, 1821, <u>2 Henry VI</u>, p. 259n. Theobald also restored <u>watch</u> of the Folio to read <u>witch</u>.

In his analysis, "Classical Learning in 'Henry VI'," Dover Wilson has been very critical:

> No one with the slightest knowledge of the first two books of the Aeneid, either in the original or in translation, could have written these lines, seeing that in Virgil it is Cupid disguised as Ascanius and not the boy Ascanius himself who lies in Dido's bosom, and it is Aeneas and not his son who tells her the tale of burning Troy.[74]

Wilson adds that the passage "clearly derives from a not unnatural misreading of the Dido story in Chaucer's Legend of Good Women." And since Chaucer "does not express himself at all clearly," one "might well have gathered from these lines that Dido 'enquered' about 'the dedes' of Aeneas from the 'child' Ascanius, mentioned just before, and that 'they tweye' were the child and herself." Later, says Wilson, Shakespeare "came to know more about Dido after reading Marlowe's play on the subject, [but] this was not printed until 1594."[75]

Although this is the accepted view among critics at the present time, I believe that a close comparison of book one of the Aeneid with Margaret's allusion and its context in 2 Henry VI will show (1) that Ascanius did bewitch the heart of Dido with his words about Aeneas in book one before Aeneas gave his orderly account of Troy in book two, and (2) that Margaret's omission of the influence of Cupid suited her own deceptive intentions.

In book one of the Aeneid, Dido first meets Aeneas in the woods and invites him to her palace. Aeneas, who wishes to make a good impres-

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[74] N.C.S., 2 Henry VI, p. lii.

[75] N.C.S., p. liii.

sion, sends his son Ascanius before him bearing gifts to Queen Dido. Here Virgil adds that Aeneas put all his hope in his son, Omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis,[76] and that he selected the gifts with care (648-655). At this point, however, Virgil guarantees the mission of Ascanius by adding the classical symbolism for the powerful god of love. Cupid assumes the guise of Ascanius, attends the banquet in his place, amazes all with gifts, and charms everyone with the glowing beauty of his countenance and words. Virgil writes:

> Mirantur dona Aeneae; mirantur Julum,
> Flagrantesque dei vultus, simulataque verba.
> (1.709-710)
>
> [Everyone was amazed by the gifts of Aeneas, by his son Julus, and by the glowing countenance and words of the god.]

The important word here is verba, for critics of 2 Henry VI always feel that Queen Margaret is alluding to the tale which Aeneas tells at the end of the banquet. But actually, according to the Aeneid, Dido and her court marvel at the glowing words of Cupid coming from Ascanius (Cupid in disguise). Margaret's allusion,

> To sit and witch me, as Ascanius did,
> When he to madding Dido would unfold
> His father's acts commenced in burning Troy!

has its justification then in the words: "Mirantur . . . Flagrantesque dei vultus, simulataque verba." Dido and her court, looking upon Ascanius, were amazed at the glowing countenance and words of a god.

In the Aeneid, Dido is moved, "et pariter puero donesque" (by both the boy and the gifts). And gradually, love awakens in Dido feelings of

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[76]Publius Vergilius Maro, The Aeneid of Virgil, ed. Charles Anthon (New York, 1889), I.646. All quotations are from this edition; all translations are my own.

passion long forgotten:

> Incipit, et vivo tentat praevertere amore
> Jampridem resides animos, desuetaque cords.[77]

Then Dido, having inquired about Priam, about Hector, about the armor of Memnon, the horses of Rhesus, and the power of Achilles, finally concludes book one by urging Aeneas to give an orderly account of Troy:

> Immo age, et a prima dic, hospes, origine nobis
> Insidias, inquit, Danaum, casusque tuorum,
> Erroresque tuos: nam te jam septima portat
> Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas.[78]

In 2 Henry VI the context of Margaret's remarks explains her analogy between Suffolk and Ascanius. Suffolk had been sent by Henry to France as his deputy for marriage[79] and had announced the success of his mission in the opening lines of 2 Henry VI:

> As by your high imperial Majesty
> I had in charge at my depart for France,
> As procurator to your Excellence,
> To marry Princess Margaret for your Grace;
> So . . .
> I have perform'd my task, and was espous'd.
> (I.i.1-5, 9)

Thus, Margaret is comparing the love mission of Ascanius to the marriage deputation of Suffolk. Just as Ascanius is supposed to have deceived Dido by representing Aeneas in a favorable light in the cause of love, so Suffolk is supposed to have deceived Margaret by representing Henry in a

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[77]Book I, lines 721-6: Love begins anew to turn to living passion in a long-since quiet mind and unaccustomed heart.

[78]Book I, lines 753-6: "Nay, come, my guest," she said, "start at the beginning and tell us from the first about the Grecian strategies, their misfortunes, and your own travels; for this is already the seventh summer that brings you wandering over every land and sea."

[79]William Shakespeare, The First Part of King Henry the Sixth (Arden edition, ed. Andrew S. Cairncross), V.v.79-91.

favorable light in the cause of marriage.

Margaret makes no mention of Cupid but attributes the power of deception to Ascanius. Again, despite the usual explanation that this is an error, there is a plausible argument for Shakespeare's adaptation of Virgil's machinery of the gods. In the Aeneid the power of Cupid is that of inflaming the impassioned Queen (donisque furentem / Incendat reginam, 659-60) and encircling her heart with fire (atque ossibus implicet ignem, 660). In 2 Henry VI this power of love is effectively put into an Elizabethan psychology of love by the words witched and madding (maddening or making mad with love).[80] Suffolk would "sit and witch" Margaret with the praises of Henry "as Ascanius did, / When he to madding Dido would unfold" the praises of Aeneas.

Another plausible reason for Margaret's omission of Cupid is in her deceptive stance. She is accusing Henry of deceiving her, but she and Suffolk are actually deceiving Henry. Suffolk is her lover and ally against Henry and so she does not then want to introduce the revealing complication of Ascanius as Cupid. She is obliged to protect Suffolk, and so she must minimize the deceptive role of Ascanius by putting all the blame on Henry's "foul inconstancy." This reading is supported by the earlier distortion of Suffolk alluding to Paris and Helen. At the end of 1 Henry VI Suffolk distorts the classical story in order to compare himself favorably to Paris and Margaret to Helen:

> Thus Suffolk hath prevailed, and thus he goes,
> As did the youthful Paris once to Greece,

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[80] OED. See also Sonnet 119 which speaks of "ruin'd love":
> How have mine eyes out of their Spheres been fitted
> In the distraction of this madding fever.

> With hopes to find the like event in love;
> But prosper better than the Troyan did.
> Margaret shall now be Queen, and rule the King;
> But I will rule both her, the King, and realm.
> (V.v.103-8)

Just as Margaret later twists the allusion to fit her own designs, so Suffolk here twists it. And again, those well-known elements of the allusion which he omits are a significant comment on what actually happens. In the Aeneid Paris abuses the hospitality of Menelaus by loving the Queen, and in 2 Henry VI Suffolk is false to Henry in loving the Queen. Moreover, in both stories their love and deception are instruments of the ensuing domestic and civil chaos.

Margaret's allusion, then, has been consistently misread:

> How often have I tempted Suffolk's tongue,
> The agent of thy foul inconstancy,
> To sit and witch me, as Ascanius did,
> When he to madding Dido would unfold
> His father's acts commenced in burning Troy,
> Am I not witched like her? Or thou not false like him?

Here Margaret does not refer to the tale of Troy told by Aeneas which constitutes book two of the Aeneid. She refers to the introduction of Aeneas to Dido through the alluring gifts and bewitching words of Ascanius which takes place at the end of book one. In Queen Margaret's words, Dido is "witched" and made mad with passion by the god-like words of Ascanius even before Aeneas tells his lengthy tale. Just as Aeneas misrepresents himself from the very beginning through the god-like words of Ascanius, contends Margaret, so Henry misrepresents himself to her from the beginning through Suffolk. Also, just as the power of Cupid working in Ascanius is not responsible for the later inconstancy of Aeneas, neither is "Suffolk's tongue" responsible for Henry's "foul inconstancy." Thus, Queen Margaret,

by accurately alluding to Virgil's account of deception by proxy, enriches the rhetoric of her accusation--false though it be--by comparing her situation to Dido being "witched" by "Ascanius."

In Titus Andronicus there are two allusions to Dido:[81] both are accurate in detail and thematically integrated into the play. The first brings up Dido's hunting trip, the thunder storm, the cave in which she and Aeneas took refuge, and their secret exchange of love. In this allusion Tamora compares herself to Dido and her lover Aaron to Aeneas. She and Aaron have managed, like Dido and Aeneas, to become separated from their companions on a hunting trip. Then Tamora tries to get Aaron to make love to her as Dido and Aeneas did after taking refuge in a cave during a thunderstorm.. Tamora speaks:

> Let us sit down and mark their yelping noise,
> And--after conflict such as was supposed
> The wandering Prince and Dido once enjoyed,
> And curtained with a counsel-keeping cave--
> We may, each wreathed in the other's arms,
> Our pastimes done, possess a golden slumber.
> (II.iii.20-6)

All the details here correlate with those in the Aeneid (IV.165-172) and are essentially the same as those in Chaucer's Legend of Good Women, lines 1204-1231.

Shakespeare does, however, make a significant change in tone when he adapts the allusion to Tamora's version of it. In her version, Tamora misrepresents the Dido and Aeneas story as an idyllic love story. Her lines have a natural charm and idyllic tone instead of Virgil's erotic flashes of lightning, conspiring heavens, wailing nymphs, and the for-

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[81]For a discussion of the authenticity of these two allusions see the following footnote, number 82.

boding: "Ille dies primus leti primusque malorum / Causa fuit" (IV, 169-170), which Chaucer translates: "this was the first morwe / Of her gladnesse, and the ginning of her sorwe" (1230-1). Thus, again, as in 2 Henry VI, Shakespeare's modification of the allusion is a significant indication of his method of adapting a classical story to the character who makes the allusion. And again, the well-known element omitted from the allusion foreshadows what eventually happens in the play. For, to her chagrin, Tamora's intimacies in the "counsel-keeping cave," as the intimacies of Dido in the cave incident of the Aeneid, initiate the same kind of tragedy for her that Dido experienced.

Although the second allusion to Dido in Titus Andronicus is of doubtful authenticity,[82] it is, nevertheless, reasonable to assume that Shakespeare was familiar with it because Titus Andronicus was regarded

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[82]In Titus Andronicus Marcus introduces Lucius to the Roman people:

> Speak, Rome's dear friend. As erst our ancestor,
> When with his solemn tongue he did discourse
> To love-sick Dido's sad attending ear
> The story of that baleful burning night
> When subtle Greeks surprised King Priam's Troy,
> Tell us what Sinon hath bewitched our ears,
> Or who hath brought the fatal engine in
> That gives our Troy, our Rome, the civil wound.
> (V.iii.79-87)

George Peele's "The Tale of Troy" (1589) reads:

> While Subtle Grecians lurk'd in Tendos. . . .
> And so bewitched King Priam and his court
> That now at last, to Troyan's fatal hurt. . . .
> They 'greed to hoist this engine of mischance.
> (400, 404-5, 407)

Modern critics and editors are in agreement that this and other parallel passages constitute weighty evidence of Peele's "having revised Titus Andronicus about the end of 1593" (T. W. Baldwin, On the Literary Genetics of Shakespeare's Plays, 1592-1594 [Urbana, 1959], p. 415). See also J. M Robertson, Did Shakespeare Write "Titus Andronicus"? (London, 1905); J. M. Robertson, An Introduction to the Study of the Shakespeare

as his play by Heminges and Condell for the First Folio, it was entered for publication by Shakespeare's company in the Stationers' Register on January 23, 1594, and it was listed as one of Shakespeare's tragedies in 1598 by Francis Meres.[83] However, since the passage has been called into question, perhaps it is not strong evidence of Shakespeare's memory; but neither does it give comfort to those who would ascribe to Shakespeare a bad memory for a highly familiar and popular episode.

The Dido allusion in The Taming of the Shrew brings out yet another aspect of Shakespeare's knowledge of Dido, namely Dido's habit of confiding in her sister, Anna. Lucentio tells his servant Tranio:

> And now in plainness [I] do confess to thee,
> That art to me as secret and as dear
> As Anna to the Queen of Carthage was.
> Tranio, I burn, I pine, I perish, Tranio,
> If I achieve not this young modest girl.
> (I.i.157-61)

This allusion, though playful, is accurate. Anna was Dido's confidante and encouraged her to find a way to detain Aeneas at Carthage.[84] But Lucentio, who is not trying to be funny, is ridiculous. For all of his "plainness" Lucentio sounds like a Caesar getting ready for a conquest, and his expression, "I burn, I pine, I perish," qualifies as a good example of elaborate Petrarchan exaggeration and immature love. Moreover,

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Canon (London, 1924); A. M. Witherspoon, The Yale Shakespeare: The Tragedy of Titus Andronicus (New Haven, 1926), p. 136; and J. Dover Wilson, Titus Andronicus (Cambridge, 1948), pp. xxv-1)

[83] Francis Meres, Palladis Tamia: Wit's Treasury, 1598 (New York, Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1938), p. 282.

[84] See the Aeneid IV.38-53, where Anna fans the flame and counsels Dido in achieving her love; Aeneid IV.416-436, where Anna is confidante of Dido's sorrows; and Aeneid IV.474-498, where Dido hides her suicidal intentions behind a serene countenance (Consilium vultu tegit, ac serenat, line 477).

his confession to Tranio who is "as secret and as dear / As Anna to the Queen of Carthage was" is clearly inappropriate. For "dear" Anna's advice was one of the initial forces behind Dido's misfortunes in love. Also, Dido did not always "in plainness . . . confess," for she carefully excluded Anna from her tragic, suicidal plans until it was too late. Dido literally could have said with Lucentio: "I burn, I pine, I perish" and her pining would have had more feeling for the funeral pyre on which she perished was fired with pine: "Taedis atque ilice secta" (IV.504). This Dido allusion, then, like those discussed so far, demonstrates Shakespeare's accurate knowledge of the Dido legend and his practice of adapting the details to the speaker's character and to the context of the play.

In Romeo and Juliet there is another accurate allusion to Dido. Mercutio twits Romeo in Petrarchan hyperboles about the beauty of his lady:

> Now is he for the numbers that Petrarch flowed in.
> Laura to his lady was but a kitchen wench--
> Marry, she had a better love to berhyme her--
> Dido, a dowdy; Cleopatra, a gypse; Helen and
> Hero, hildings and harlots; Thisbe, a gray
> Eye or so, but not to the purpose.
> (II.iv.40-45)

Here the allusion to Dido's famed beauty recalls the profuse praise of Dido's goddess-like beauty in the Aeneid (I, 325-40, 496 f.) and Legend of Good Women (983-988, 1004-1014, 1035-1043). This reputation of beauty gives Dido allusion precisely the effect Mercutio intends--superlative exaggeration.

In A Midsummer Night's Dream, a play composed, we suppose, shortly before The Merchant, we have evidence that Shakespeare was well aware of the difference between the Dido legend and the Ariadne legend, for it

contains detailed and accurate allusions to both. After making plans to elope, Hermia swears by the fidelity of Dido to meet Lysander:

> I swear to thee . . .
> By that which knitteth souls and prospers loves,
> And by that fire which burned the Carthage Queen
> When the false Troyan under sail was seen--
> By all the vows that ever men have broke,
> In number more than ever women spoke,
> In that same place thou hast appointed me,
> Tomorrow truly will I meet with thee.
> (I.i.169-178)

Here the references to the fidelity of Dido, to the "Carthage Queen," to the "fire which burned" her to death, to the "false Troyan," her seeing Aeneas "under sail," and the "vows" which he "broke" are all specific details which correspond to Virgil's description of Dido in the Aeneid. Moreover, Hermia skilfully adapts all these selected details to her situation concentrating on the fidelity of Dido as a model of her own fidelity and pointing out the risk she takes when she ventures trust in a man.

The Ariadne allusion in A Midsummer Night's Dream occurs when Oberon and Titania are accusing one another of infidelity. Titania accuses Oberon of having had "the bouncing Amazon," Hippolyta, for his "buskin'd mistress" and "warrior love." Oberon replies:

> How canst thou thus for shame, Titania,
> Glance at my credit with Hippolyta,
> Knowing I know thy love to Theseus?
> Didst thou not lead him through the glimmering night,
> From Perigenia, whom he ravished?
> And make him with fair Aegle break his faith,
> With Ariadne and Antiopa?
> (II.i.74-80)

The allusion to Ariadne is general and focuses on only the infidelity of Theseus. But it (unlike the allusions to the other three women)[85] is

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[85]See The Lives of the Noble Greciansand Romans, tr. Thomas North,

accurate. Moreover, there is no confusion of details possible between this allusion and the earlier allusion to Dido. Here Ariadne is seen as one of the four women abandoned by Theseus who is about to marry Hippolyta, the captured Amazon Queen. While in act one Dido is seen as "the Carthage Queen" who mounted a funeral pyre and died in "that fire which burned" on the banks of the sea when the "false Troyan," Aeneas, "under sail was seen."

We should also note here that Ariadne is just one of several women abandoned by Theseus. This generic view of Ariadne corresponds with the view of her in The Two Gentlemen of Verona where she is a type for the sorrowing and abandoned woman. Julia tells Silvia about a pageant in which she acted Ariadne:

> . . . for at Pentecost
> When all our pageants of delight were played,
> . . . . . .
> And I did play a lamentable part.
> Madame, 'twas Ariadne passioning
> For Theseus' perjury and unjust flight,
> Which I so lively acted with my tears
> That my poor mistress, moved therewithal,
> Wept bitterly; and would I might be dead,
> If I in thought felt not her very sorrow!
> (IV.iv.163-4, 170-7).

These lines are very informative for they suggest that Ariadne and her

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1579 (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1950), Reel 427. Modern editors have emended the Quarto and Folio Eagles to read Aegle. North gives the former loves of Theseus as Ariadne, Perigouna, Aegles, and Hyppolita: "Aegles the Nymphe, was loved of Theseus" (p. 10); "Clidemus the Historiographer . . . calleth the Amazone which Theseus married, Hyppolita, and not Antiopa" (p. 15); "This Sinnis had a goodly fayer daughter named Perigouna, which fled awaye. . . . But Theseus fynding her, called her, and sware by his faith he would use her gently, and doe her no hurte, nor displeasure at all. Upon which promise she came out of the bushe, and laye with him, by whom she was conceyved of a goodly boye" (p. 5). Perigouna, then, was not ravished. North uses the form Ariadne frequently on pages nine through twelve.

"passioning" were well known to Elizabethans who attended the miracle plays and "pageants of delight" during the festivities of Whitsuntide. Julia also suggests that "Ariadne passioning" is the kind of role played so freely, "so lively acted with my tears," that actor and audience inspired one another with their melancholy sentiments. Such acting would quickly turn Ariadne into "a lamentable part," or a type for the sorrowing woman. This allusion, then, is more good evidence that Shakespeare was well aware of the difference between Dido and Ariadne, for Dido has a specific and well-defined legendary, but Ariadne's legendary is generic. In fact, Plutarch mentions so many variants of Ariadne's life and death that the only details essential to her story are her abandonment and her sorrow.[86]

In Hamlet, again, there is evidence that Shakespeare was well aware of Dido, Aeneas, and the tale of Aeneas to Dido, that he accurately selected those aspects of the Aeneid which are relevant to his play, and that he adapted the allusion to the speaker and the context

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[86] North's Plutarch reads:

> They reporte many other things also touching this matter, and specially of Ariadne: but there is no trothe nor certeintie in it. For some saye, that Ariadne honge her selfe for sorwe, when she sawe that Theseus had caste her of. Other write, that she was transported by mariners into the Ile of Naxos, where she was maryed unto Oenarus, the priest of Bacchus: and they thincke that Theseus lefte her, bicause he was in love with another, as by these verses shulde appear. Aegles, the Nymphe, was loved of Theseus. . . . Other holde opinion, that Ariadne had two children by Theseus. . . . [According to Paenon] she dyed notwithstanding in labour, and could never be delivered. . . . And yet there are of the Naxians, that reporte this otherwise: saying, there were two Minoes, and two Ariadnees.

See The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans, pp. 11-12.

of the play. When Hamlet welcomes the players to Elsinore, he says, "Come, a passionate speech" (II.ii.452). He then remembers such a speech from a play that "pleased not the millions":

> One speech in it I chiefly loved. 'Twas Aeneas' tale to Dido, and thereabouts of it especially where he speaks of Priam's slaughter.
>
> (II.ii.466-70)

Then follows sixty lines from the "passionate speech" of Aeneas to Dido. When the player comes to the slaughter of Priam and the Queen's agony at watching "Pyrrhus make malicious sport / In mincing with his sword her husband's limbs," the actor is so moved that he is asked to stop. Hamlet later muses:

> Tears in his eyes, distraction in's aspect,
> A broken voice, and his whole function suiting
> With forms to his conceit. and all for nothing!
> For Hecuba! What's Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba,
> That he should weep for her? What would he do,
> Had he the motive and the cue for passion
> That I have?
>
> (II.ii.581-588)

Throughout the passage the names and details are all accurate. Moreover, the method of handling the allusion is comparable to the method in The Merchant. As T. W. Baldwin notes, the Dido allusion both here and in The Merchant demonstrates that Shakespeare is not content "with merely selecting sensational episodes; he sets to work deliberately to heighten the sensationalism."[87] Thus again, this allusion to Dido demonstrates Shakespeare's adequate knowledge of the Aeneid, his ability to select those aspects of the Aeneid which are relevant to his own play, and in this particular case, his predilection for the "passionate" and poten-

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[87] T. W. Baldwin, On the Literary Genetics of Shakespeare's Plays, II, 420.

tially dramatic aspects of "Aeneas' tale to Dido."

In Antony and Cleopatra, Antony compares himself and Cleopatra to Aeneas and Dido as if they were the paragon of lovers-till-death. He feels that he is even more of an exemplar than Aeneas because he did not forsake Cleopatra, as Aeneas did Dido, but followed her in the sea battle and gave all for love. Thus, he feels that the two of them will have a greater throng of admirers in Elysium than ever Dido and Aeneas had:

> Dido and her Aeneas shall want troops
> And all the haunts be ours.
> (IV.xiv.53-4)

This allusion is one of the most subtle, ironic, and unsensational of the nine dramatic allusions to Dido. Antony suggests that Dido and Aeneas shall lack admiring "troops" because few in Elysium will admire Aeneas for listening to Mercury's call to abandon Dido and follow his destiny as founder of Rome. Thus, Antony makes a greater claim for fame than the founder of Rome. By forsaking everything in order to remain faithful to Cleopatra, Antony lays claim to eternal love even at the expense of losing Rome, his military reputation, and his life. In contrast with both Aeneas and Dido, who were interested in strengthening their respective kingdoms with the military troops of the other, Antony and Cleopatra's "troops" are their followers in love.

Shakespeare's last allusion to Dido is the subject of witty banter in The Tempest (II.i.76, 78, 81, 100, 101). Gonzalo, who is trying to comfort the shipwrecked King and his court, says:

> Beseech you, sirs, be merry. . . .
> Methinks our garments are now as fresh
> As when we put them on first in Afric,

> At the marriage of the King's fair daughter
> Claribel to the King of Tunis.
>
> (II.i.1, 68-71)

Adrian observes that Tunis was never before graced with such a beautiful Queen. But honest Gonzalo takes exception: "Not since Widow Dido's time," and is immediately taken to task by Adrian: "She was of Carthage, not of Tunis." But Gonzalo, who knows his classical geography as well as his mythology, assures him: "This Tunis, sir, was Carthage." Gonzalo is factually correct; but in his comparison of "Widow Dido's time" with the recent marriage of Alonzo's daughter in Tunis, his accuracy and simple optimism are hardly calculated to give comfort to the King. After more banter about Dido as widow and Aeneas as widower, the King finally interrupts:

> You cram these words into my ears against
> The stomach of my sense. Would I had never
> Married my daughter there! For, coming thence,
> My son is lost and, in my rate, she too
> Who is so far from Italy removed
> I ne'er again shall see her.
>
> (II.i.106-111)

These allusions to Dido, again, are accurate, playful, and functional insofar as they polarize the contention between Gonzalo and the others. For the elements of the allusion which Gonzalo seems insensitive to--marriage ending in death and bereavement--are the elements which irritate the king.

This examination of Shakespeare's allusions to Dido and his methods of integrating these allusions into his plays sheds light on the Dido allusion in The Merchant. We can see that Shakespeare was well aware of the legend of Dido as it occurs in the Aeneid and in the Legend of Good Women. The allusions are detailed, accurate, and occur for the most

part in plays written at the same time as The Merchant. We can see that Shakespeare usually heightens the sensational aspects of the allusion which in turn heightens the emotional intensity of the total context. He (or the character) often heightens the complexity of the allusion by distorting or by omitting aspects of the legend which are obviously parallel with the situation and context of the play. And finally, we can see that even the same episode can often be adapted differently in the different plays. For example, an allusion to Dido's banquet for Aeneas can be sad: in Titus Andronicus the tale of Aeneas falls upon "Dido's sad attending ears." It can be an instrument of deception: in 2 Henry VI Margaret falsely accuses Henry of bewitching her through Suffolk in the same way that Aeneas "witched" a "madding Dido" by sending his son Ascanius to her. Or it can be rhetorically moving: in Hamlet the tale of Aeneas is a "passionate speech." Priam's slaughter, Hecuba's grief, and the player's tears all shame Hamlet and move him toward revenge.

This great variety in Shakespeare's method of adapting his sources together with his accurate knowledge of the Dido legend calls for a reconsideration of the Dido allusion in The Merchant. All the evidence suggests that it is very unlikely that Shakespeare was in error or confused about Dido and Ariadne. Thus, we can move on to an examination of this allusion in the light of Shakespeare's usual methods of handling the Dido allusion and in the context of the lovers' quarrel in the garden at Belmont.

Dido, Ariadne, and the Willow

At the beginning of Act Five, Lorenzo initiates a lovers' quarrel by suggesting that he loves Jessica as much as Chaucer's Troilus who sighed out his soul for an unfaithful Cressid on a beautiful, moonlit night such as this. Jessica defends herself by saying that she loves Lorenzo not like Chaucer's Cressid but like one of Chaucer's "Good Women," Thisbe, a martyr for love who on such a moonlit night left her father and home and endured perils of the night alone rather than fail to meet her lover. Lorenzo, however, feels that by implication this would make him an imprudent lover who would allow his beloved to go through a dangerous woods unprotected in the middle of the night and who would, as he had done, come late besides. Moreover, Lorenzo knows that although Troilus had little to do with Cressid's going over to the enemy camp, Pyramus had a great deal to do with Thisbe's problems with her father and her running from home and he himself had a great deal to do with Jessica's theft and elopement.

In answer to this Lorenzo shifts grounds, becomes academic, and makes the point that not all of Chaucer's "Good Women" were as good, faithful, and loving as Chaucer represented them. He does this by combining the Virgilian legend of Dido, the Chaucerian legend of Ariadne, and the Elizabethan symbol of the forlorn lover, the willow. Playfully, he pictures the proud, ambitious, thwarted, angered, abusive, and suicidal Dido as a good, abused, abandoned, and sorrowing Ariadne calling her lover back with a death symbol, the willow:

> In such a night
> Stood Dido with a willow in her hand
> Upon the wild sea banks and waft her love

To come again to Carthage.

(V.i.9-12)

If, as we saw earlier, we are to suppose that this association of Dido, Ariadne, and the willow is not haphazard but intentional, we have two possibilities. Either Shakespeare is portraying Lorenzo as ignorant of a classical allusion that was well known in the Renaissance, or Lorenzo's alterations are intentional adaptations and so serve his purpose in the lovers' quarrel. Actually, the place in context, the appropriateness, and the subtlety of the allusion depend on its being an intentional adaptation. For Lorenzo evokes those details of the Dido legend which support his position in the lovers' quarrel and which are uncomfortably pertinent objections to the stance which Jessica assumes.

Although Lorenzo mentions Dido and her country of Carthage by name, he borrows from Chaucer's legend of Ariadne to picture Dido's abandonment generically and romantically[88] in a setting of beauty ("In such a night"), remote danger ("Upon the wild sea banks"), melancholy loneliness ("Stood Dido"), anticipation of death ("with a willow in her hand"), and faithful love despite a bleeding heart ("waft her love to come again"). Thus, although Lorenzo's allusion contains no mention of Ariadne, critics are right in pointing out the parallels between Ariadne and the abandoned and forlorn woman in Lorenzo's allusion. A sorrowing Dido did not stand on the wild sea banks in the moonlight beckoning her

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[88]Matthew Arnold quotes this Dido allusion to exemplify "the power of natural magic in Celtic poetry" which results in a romantic tone and point of view. "Magic is just the word for it,--the magic of nature; not merely the beauty of nature,--that the Greeks and Latins had; not merely an honest smack of the soil, a faithful realism,--that the Germans had; but the intimate life of Nature, her weird power and her fairy charm" (On the Study of Celtic Literature [London, 1893], pp. 128, 120-1).

lover's return with a willow branch; Ariadne called Theseus in this way although she waved a white kerchief, not a willow. Moreover, Lorenzo intentionally leaves out references to Dido that are well known, sensational, relevant to Jessica's situation, and potentially explosive as an indictment in the lovers' quarrel. He presents Dido as a mild, sorrowing, wrongly injured Ariadne. The Legend of Good Women describes such an Ariadne at the height of her sorrow:

> No man she saw, and yit shyned the mone,
> And hye upon a rokke she wente sone,
> And saw his barge saylynge in the se.
> Cold wex hire herte, and ryght thus seyde she:
> "Meker than ye finde I the bestes wilde!"
> (VI. 2194-98)

Thus, by using Ariadne as the model for his allusion, Lorenzo is ostensibly comparing Jessica with this innocently wronged, patiently suffering, forlorn woman. But his pity is feigned. The Dido he mentions may have been wronged by Aeneas, but she was not a forlorn Ariadne. She was, as we will see shortly, a notoriously strong woman capable of cursing, witchcraft, and suicide.

The willow is also an important indication of Lorenzo's intentions. For, in the Renaissance, the willow often symbolizes the forlorn lover who purges his sorrow by singing the burden: "O willow, willow, willow!" as he laments his betrayal and claims that he will die wearing the willow as a sign of his loss. The following ballad of the early seventeenth century uses this traditional symbolism:

> I am dead to all pleasure, my true-love is gone,
> O willow, willow, willow!
> . . . . . .
> A sign of her falseness before me doth stand:
> O willow, willow, willow!
> . . . . . .

As here it doth bid to despair and to dye,
O willow, willow, willow!
So hang it, friends, o're me in grave where I lye;
O willow, willow, willow![89]

In Othello Desdemona's willow song combines the traditional elements associated with the willow: sorrow, rejection, false love, loneliness, and death of the forlorn lover. "My mother had a maid called Barbara," says Desdemona.

She was in love, and he she loved proved mad
And did forsake her. She had a song of "willow"--
An old thing 'twas, but it expressed her fortune,
And she died singing it.[90]

Desdemona then sings the willow song:

The poor soul sat sighing by a sycamore tree,
Sing all a green willow.
Her hand on her bosom, her head on her knee,
Sing willow, willow, willow.
. . . . . .
Sing all a green willow must be my garland.
. . . . . .
I called my love false love, but what said he then?
Sing willow, willow, willow.
If I court moe women, you'll couch with moe men.
(IV.iii.40-3, 50, 54-6)

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[89]Thomas Percy, Reliques of Ancient English Poetry (London, 1876), Vol. I, Bk. 2, Song 8, p. 199. In the Faerie Queene Spenser refers to the symbolic value of various plants and trees, one of which is the willow:

The Laurell, meed of mightie Conquerours,
And Poets sage, the Firre that weepeth still,
The Willow worne of forlorne Paramours. (I.i.ix.1-3)

Similarly, the willow symbolizes the abandoned, fated, and forlorn lover in "The Willow Tree," an early seventeenth century pastoral dialogue in The Golden Garland of Princely Delights (Percy, Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, Vol. III, Bk. 2, Song 9, p. 137); in the song "I am so farre from pittying thee," composed by Robert Jones in The Muses Gardin for Delights (1611), ed. William Barclay Squire (Oxford, 1901), pp. 18-19; and in John Heywood's ballad, "For all the grene wyllow is my garland" in The Papers of the Shakespeare Society (London, 1853), I, 44-6.

[90]William Shakespeare, Othello, ed. M. R. Ridley, Arden edition (London, 1958), IV.iii.26-30.

When Lorenzo pictures Dido, then, as a woman wafting her lover's return with a willow, he is reinforcing the Ariadne type by picturing Dido as an innocently wronged, helpless, abandoned, and forlorn woman.

In the Aeneid, however, Dido is hardly the model of a patiently forlorn and abandoned woman. She is rather a spurned, angry woman who listens to maddening rumors about Aeneas preparing his fleet for a voyage, rages through the city, and then breaks out against him:

> Dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum
> posse nefas, tacitusque mea decedere terra?
> (IV, 305-6)
>
> [Traitor, did you think you could silently slip away?]

When she realizes that she is powerless to change his mind, she bitterly curses him:

> i, sequere Italiam, ventis pete regna per undas, Spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt, supplicia hausurum scopulis, et nomine Dido saepe vocaturum. Sequar atris ignibus absens, et, cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus, omnibus umbra locis adero. Dabis, improbe, poenas. Audiam, et haec Manis veniet mihi fama sub imos.
> (IV.381-7)
>
> [Go! find Italy, look in the wind and the waves, If the good gods can do anything, my hope is that you drain the cup of vengeance on the rocks calling Dido's name. I will haunt you with the fires of hell, and when chill death overtakes you I will still follow you everywhere. Wretch, you will pay the penalty. I will listen and hear rumors of it even from the grave.]

She resorts to magic and witchcraft, scattering broken timbers on the ocean, until Mercury warns the sleeping Aeneas:

> Illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat,
> certa mori, varioque irarum fluctuat aestu.
> (IV, 563-4)
>
> [Grimly turning craft and crime in her bosom, fixed on death, she swells the shifting ocean of wrath.]

But at dawn seeing the departing sails of Aeneas and realizing that she

does not have even one ship to send in armed pursuit, Dido reproaches herself:

> Faces in castra tulissem
> implessemque foros flammis, natumque patremque
> cum genera exstinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem.
> (IV, 604-6)
>
> [I should have carried torches into his camp and filled his decks with flame, extinguished father, son, and race all at once, and set myself on top of all.]

The spurned and frustrated Dido, pouring out her last breath together with her blood ("Haec precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo"), then begs the gods to curse Aeneas so that between his people and hers there might be undying hatred and warfare (IV. 621-9). Her rage approaches a burning madness as she mounts the pyre to kill herself amid the flames:

> At trepida et coeptis immanibus effera Dido, sanguineam volvens aciem, maculisque trementis interfusa genas, et pallida morte futura, interiora domus inrumpit limina, et altos conscendit furibunda rogos, ensemque recludit Dardanium.
> (IV, 642-7)
>
> [But panting and fierce in her awful designs, with bloodshot, restless gaze, and spots on her quivering cheeks burning through the pallor of imminent death, Dido bursts into the inner courts of the house, mounts in madness the lofty pyre, and unsheathes the sword of Aeneas.]

This, then, is the Dido of Carthage whom, "In such a night," Lorenzo pictures as standing,

> with a willow in her hand
> Upon the wild sea banks, and wafting her love
> To come again to Carthage.

In the context of the lovers' quarrel, then, Lorenzo's pity for a foreign Dido "with a willow in her hand" is so unworthy of the legendary

Queen of Carthage that his position is clearly ironic. He is feigning pity for Jessica; for the Dido of Carthage whom he mentions is the opposite of the forlorn Ariadne that he makes her. In effect, Jessica is claiming: "I am a good woman, like the martyr Thisbe; but you are not a good protector." Lorenzo responds: "Poor thing! You see yourself as a weeping Ariadne--abandoned, alone, fated to die, without father, husband, or lover to protect you. But like the willful Dido, you brought it on yourself!"

Medea: Rejuvenation and Moonlight Magic

So far the lovers' quarrel has proceeded along the following lines. Lorenzo, thinking about the beauty of the night, recalls a similar night during which an ardent Troilus sighed for his beloved Cressid. So she playfully reminds Lorenzo of another such night on which a faithful Thisbe left father and home and met a lion rather than fail to meet her love at their appointed tryst. But Lorenzo immediately recognizes that the second half of this comparison would make him a tardy lover who foolishly allows his beloved to expose herself to the dangers of wild beasts in a forest alone at midnight. So Lorenzo teases Jessica by suggesting that instead of being like the good and faithful martyr for love, Thisbe, she is more like the thwarted, suicidal Dido, responsible for her own fate and beckoning her lover with a death symbol, and who would like to appear as an innocent, abandoned Ariadne.

At this point Jessica recognizes that Dido's power over Aeneas may have been ineffectual, but one of Chaucer's other "Good Women," Medea, had a power over Jason that was undisputed. So Jessica tries again to "outnight" Lorenzo with:

> In such a night
> Medea gathered th' enchanted herbs
> That did renew old Aeson.
> (V.i.12-14)

Here Jessica is suggesting several things. In response to Lorenzo's Dido allusion, Jessica suggests that she is not a whimpering, forlorn, powerless Dido but a good Medea with enchanting powers for new life. On such a beautiful moonlit night, a grateful Medea rejuvenated the aged father of a loving Jason after helping him attain the golden fleece. Thus, Jessica is again claiming to be faithful and loving because she has helped Lorenzo metaphorically attain the golden fleece; and like Medea, she can bring new life to a loving Lorenzo.

Although Jessica again tries to capture the beauty of the night and the enchantment of the moon, she again, as in the previous allusions, is playful and contentious; for during the Renaissance Medea has the well-defined reputation of being a witch. By relying on Medea's reputation, Jessica is warning Lorenzo to beware the awful powers of a spurned Medea. For the sorrow and imprecations of an abused Dido hurled at a parting Aeneas had little power to turn him back, but "th' enchanted herbs" of a Medea, gathered in the light of the moon, were notoriously potent.

In Ovid's Metamorphoses and in most Elizabethan versions of the Medea legend, Medea is hardly a Dido mounting her funeral pyre or an Ariadne weeping and forlorn in her abandonment. She is rather one of the most treacherous and vindictive of women. As Ovid presents her, Medea used her incantations and boiling cauldrons not only when she gave Aeson back his youth but more frequently when she wanted to further her ambition, treachery, and revenge. In fact, the distinction between

Medea's white magic and her black magic is so slight in the Metamorphoses that only the result distinguishes one from the other.

In preparing for Aeson's rejuvenation, Medea invoked the full moon, the stars, Hecate, and a host of gods and goddesses. For nine nights she ascended in a chariot drawn by flying serpents to gather distant herbs and plants. She sacrificed black sheep, poured libations of milk and wine, charmed Aeson into a death-like sleep, boiled a cauldron of potent herbs, seeds, acrid juices, sand, stones from the east, hoarfrost, the head and wings of a screech-owl, the entrails of a werewolf, a snake skin, a stag's liver, the head of a crow, and a thousand other nameless items ("et mille aliis postquam sine nomine rebus").[91] She then cut Aeson's throat, let out his old blood, and used the boiling contents of the cauldron to give him a complete blood change. The results were amazing:

> barbara comaeque
> canitie posita nigrum rapuere colorem,
> pulsa fugit macies, abeunt pallorque situsque,
> adiectoque cavae supplentur corpore rugae,
> membraque luxuriant; Aeson miratur et olim
> ante quater denos hunc se reminiscitur annos.
>
> [Aeson's grey hair and beard turned black; his leanness disappeared; his pallor and look of neglect were gone; his deep wrinkles became smooth; and his limbs became strong. Filled with wonder, Aeson remembered what he was like forty years ago.][92]
> (VII.288-93)

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[91] Ovid, Metamorphoses, ed. T. E. Page (London, 1928), VII, 275.

[92] Literally, and remembered himself once upon a time before forty years. Golding translates, "At which he wondring much, / Remembered that at fortie yeares he was the same or such" (Shakespeare's Ovid, VII, 378-9). Since ante is a preposition governing the accusative case and olim means formerly or once upon a time, the phrase is ambiguous. Most translators give the sense of forty years ago.

Immediately after this Ovid narrates Medea's second adventure in the art of rejuvenation. King Pelias, the usurping uncle of Jason, refused to surrender the throne to Jason when he reached his majority. When the daughters of Pelias saw what Medea had done for Aeson, they wished the same for their father. So, under the guise of kinship, but with her eye on kingship, Medea offers her services. She prepares all the herbs as before but substitutes impotent herbs for some of the essential ingredients. When the daughters find difficulty in draining the blood of their sleeping father, Medea upbraids them until,

> Ille cruore fluens, cubita tamen adlevat artus,
> semilacerque toro temptat consurgere, et inter
> tot medium gladios pallentia bracchia tendens
> "quid facitis, gnatae? quid vos in fata parentis
> armat?"
>
> [The old man, half mangled and streaming with blood, raised himself on his elbow and tried to get out of bed. With swords coming at him from all directions, he stretched out his pale arms and cried: "What are you doing, my daughters? Why are you killing your father?"]
>
> (VII.343-47)

To keep him from saying any more, Medea cuts his throat and plunges his mangled body into the boiling water:

> Plura locuturo cum verbis guttura Colchis
> abstulit et calidis laniatum mersit in undis.
> (VII, 348-9)

She then escapes in her chariot drawn by winged snakes.

When Jessica alludes to the rejuvenation of "old Aeson" she selects an example of Medea's love for her husband and her father-in-law; but she also inevitably recalls this parallel example of Medea's treachery for it comes immediately after the rejuvenation of Aeson. She also inevitably recalls other aspects of Medea's notorious reputation. After murdering

Pelias, Medea arrives at Corinth in her snake-drawn chariot and finds Jason with a new bride, Creusa, the daughter of King Creon. Medea sends Creusa a poisoned robe as a bridal gift which bursts into flames, consumes the whole palace, and kills Creusa and King Creon. Medea then kills the two children that she had by Jason and again escapes in her serpent-drawn chariot.

Ovid finishes his account of Media by giving one more example of her treachery. King Aegeus hospitably receives Media; and "facto damnandus in uno" (as if that were not enough to doom him, VII.402), Aegeus then marries her. Theseus, his son, returns after many years and is unknowingly received as a guest. But Medea knows who he is and feels threatened, so she mixes a cup of poison herbs and persuades Aegeus to present it to this supposed enemy. Then,

> Sumpserat ignara Theseus data pocula dextra,
> cum pater in capulo gladii cognovit eburno
> signa sui generis facinusque excussit ab ore.
> (VII, 421-3)

> [As Theseus raised the cup, his father recognized the family emblem on his sword and knocked the poisoned cup from his lips.]

Medea, however, conjured up a dark cloud and escapes in it.

This, then, is the Medea which the Elizabethans were familiar with both in translation and in the original Latin. And, contends Jessica, this is the kind of woman she is rather than a suicidal Dido or a weeping Ariadne. When Jason spurned Medea, death ensued; but when he returned her love, new life came forth. Medea has an awesome power over life and death which Dido and Ariadne did not possess.

In the context of the lovers' quarrel, however, Jessica is not only calling attention to the power of Medea to rejuvenate and to the

inadequacies of Lorenzo's previous allusion, she is also trying to present herself in a favorable light. Thus it is not enough for her to depict Medea as one of the martyrs on Cupid's calendar as she had done with Thisbe. For Lorenzo discredited this martyr concept, playfully mocking it as a persecution complex exemplified by the suicidal Dido and forlorn Ariadne, quondam martyrs on Cupid's calendar of saints. In the Medea allusion, then, Jessica transforms the terrible Medea into a fairyland princess who, "In such a night . . . gathered th' enchanted herbs / That did renew old Aeson (V.i.12-14). And in so doing, by selecting a reputed witch for her model in love, Jessica suggests that even the worst of women have their male detractors--and admirers.

Jessica's allusion also benefits from Medea's reputation in English literature. Here Medea's reputation is ambivalent and often the subject matter for a playful battle of the sexes, and, as in the case of Golding, the material for an enchanting bit of moonlight magic. Gower, for example, vindicates the treacherous Medea by presenting the legend of Medea as an exemplum of the male "vice of perjurie":

> Hou the wommen deceived are,
> Whan thei so tendre herte bere
> Of that thei hieren men so swere;
> Bot what it comth unto thassay,
> Thei finde it fals an other day:
> As Jason dede to Medee.[93]

---

[93] Confessio Amantis, V.3225, 3236-41. Steevens suggests that the source for Jessica's allusion to Medea is Gower's Confessio Amantis (V. 3957-62):

> So, Gower, speaking of Medea:
> Thus it befell upon a night
> Whann there was nought but sterre light
> She vanished right as hir list,
> That no wight but herself wist:

Gower also minimizes the treacherous machinations of Medea. He leaves out Medea's murder of King Pelius and her deceitful attempt to get Aegeus to poison his own son, Theseus. He minimizes the vindictiveness of Medea when she murdered Creusa with a poisoned robe and killed Jason's sons before his eyes suggesting that Jason was really getting what he deserved:

> Thus might thou se what sorwe it doth
> To swere an oth which is noght soth,
> In loves cause namely.
> (V.4223-5)

In the Legend of Good Women[94] Medea is playfully portrayed as a martyr for love. And the only reward she can expect for loving Jason is ingratitude:

> This is the mede of lovynge and guerdoun
> That Medea receyved of Jasoun
> Ryght for hire trouthe and for hire hyndenesse,
> That lovede hym beter than hireself, I gesse,
> And lafte hire fader and hir herytage.
> (Legend of Good Women, 1662-6)

But Chaucer's sympathy for Medea is feigned, for he wryly observes that this good woman gave all for love and in succumbing to Jason loved him "beter than hirself, I gesse" (1665).

> And that was at midnight tide,
> The world was still on every side.

(Malone Shakespeare, 1790, p. 92n). But in The Merchant the magic herbs were gathered in the light of the moon, which Root observes is the "point of the allusion" (Classical Mythology, p. 40). Gower mentions "noght but sterre light." Moreover, in Gower's version of the Medea legend, it is nine hectic days and nights later that Medea finally boils, rather than gathers, her cauldron of herbs "in the newe mone" (V.4115).

[94]As we saw earlier, Hunter felt "that Shakespeare was indebted to Chaucer; that in fact, the old folio of Chaucer was lying open before him when he wrote this dialogue, and that there he found Thisbe, Dido, and Medea, as well as Troilus. It is at least certain that Thisbe, Dido, and Medea do occur together in Chaucer's Legend of Good Women, which in the folio immediately follows the Troilus" (New Illustrations, I.313). But as Furness notes, in the Legend of Good Women "we have no moon, nor even the going out at night to gather herbs" (Variorum, p. 239). Moreover, Chaucer completely omits Medea's renewal of "old Aeson."

The presentation of Medea in Lydgate is also playful, and this time openly in the tradition of the battle of the sexes. In the Troy Book,[95] Lydgate presents Medea as a conniving female. Jason is simply an adventurous knight looking for the golden fleece, and his affair with Medea is only one of the episodes in his quest. With tongue-in-cheek Lydgate defends the perfection of all women and apologizes as a translator who cannot be held accountable for another's opinion of women:

> I am right sory in englishe to translate
> Reprefe of hem, or any evel to seye.
> (I.2100-1)

For women are "gode and parfyte everechon" and should never be blamed for taking a new lover, "For ofte tyme thei se men do the same."[96]

Golding, on the other hand, works wonders in transforming the terrible Medea into a fairyland princess. Jessica also does the same, for her argument is that even a witch like Medea, who is playfully defended by some and defamed by most, can be transformed by either hate or love. A vindictive, ambitious, and hateful Medea uses her power to bring death, but a loving Medea marvelously resurrects and frees those held in the bondage of old age and death.

In Golding's description of Medea, Jessica finds the themes, images, words, and tone most complimentary to her stance in the lovers'

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[95]"It is worthy of notice that all the allusions to the Argonauts in the genuine plays occur in Merch" (Root, Classical Mythology, p. 39). From this we might reasonably assume that in writing The Merchant, Shakespeare had recently made himself familiar with the legend of Medea, Jason, and the golden fleece. The Troy Book contains a full account.

[96]John Lydgate, Lydgate's Troy Book, ed. Henry Bergen (London, 1906), I.2100-01, 2105, 2110. I have modernized ȝ and þ.

quarrel.[97] The immediately recognizable parallels between Golding's Ovid and Jessica's lines are in the references to herbs, to Medea gathering them by moonlight, and in the word renew. Also, Golding's sympathetic portrayal of Medea is particularly useful to Jessica. For Golding seems to be little bothered by the treachery of Medea as it is narrated in the Metamorphoses and reflected in most Renaissance versions.

Golding emphasizes Medea's sacrifices and her power of love:

> And shall I then leave brother, sister, father, kith and kin,
> And household Gods, and native soyle, and all that is therein,
> And saile I know not whither with a straunger? yea: why not?
> My father surely cruell is, my Countrie rude God wot.[98]

He does all he can to excuse Medea's "frantick love" (VII.103):

> . . . but sure it doth behove
> Hir judgement should be borne withall bicause she was in love.
> (VII.121-2)

He emphasizes that Jason "made a solemne vow, and sware to take hir to his wife" (VII.135), and that Medea's "father surely cruell is" (VII.141). Thus, Medea opposes her father's will and "streight way" gives Jason the "Enchaunted herbes" (VII.142) making it possible for him to win the golden fleece.

After securing the golden fleece, Jason asks for yet another blessing:

> O wife to whome I do confesse I owe my life in deede,
> Though al things thou to me hast given, and thy deserts exceede

---

[97] Hunter was the first to notice the correlation of images and diction between The Merchant and Golding's Ovid, a correlation which is more significant in view of the fact that Golding's version at this point "departs widely from the Latin original" according to Root (Classical Mythology, p. 40). See also Joseph Hunter, New Illustrations, p. 240; Dover Wilson, N.C.S., p. 167; and Brown, Arden edition, p. 125.

[98] Shakespeare's Ovid, Being Arthur Golding's Translation of the Metamorphoses, ed. W. H. D. Rouse (Illinois, 1961), VII, 71-74.

> Beliefe: yet if enchauntment can, (for what so hard appeares
> Which strong enchauntment can not doe?) abate thou from my yeares,
> And adde them to my father's life. As he these wordes did speake,
> The teares were standing in his eyes. His godly sute did breake
> Medeas heart.
> (VII.226-232)

Medea's sympathy and love, however, will not permit her to subtract life from the son in order to give it to the father. She generously offers:

> I will put in proofe
> A greater gift than you require, and more for your behoofe.
> I will assay your fathers life by cunning to prolong,
> And not with your yeares for to make him yong again and strong.
> (VII.238-241)

In many of the sources, Medea's rejuvenation of Aeson takes on the aura of witchcraft. Thus, Ovid suggests that Medea's magic is the rite of a barbaric woman:

> His et mille aliis postquam sine nomine rebus
> Propositum instruxit mortali barbara maius.
> (VII.275-6)

But Golding seems to have been impressed less with Medea's black arts than with her intense love of Jason, her compassionate rejuvenation of Jason's father, and the awesome power of white magic. Thus, as Golding represents her, Medea calls upon the benign influences rather than upon the malignant ones. Her restoration of Aeson has much of the charm of Prospero's enchantment in the Tempest.[99]

Golding's passage provides the images and the sense of enchantment as Medea gathers her magic herbs in the light of the moon:

> Before the Moone should circlewise close both hir hornes in one
> Three nightes were yet as then to come. Assone as that she shone

---

[99]Furness feels that these lines of Golding "assuredly lingered in Shakespeare's memory" when he wrote "Prospero's invocation: 'Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves" (Variorum edition of The Merchant, p. 240n).

> Most full of light, and did behold the earth with fulsome face,
> Medea with hir haire not trust so much as in a lace [began her rites].
>
> (VII.224-7)

Medea looks to the stars which "fair and bright did in the welkin shine," "To which she lifting up hir handes did thrise hirselfe encline, And thrice with water of the brooke hir haire besprincled shee" (VII.254-6). She then invokes the hidden powers of nature:

> O trustie time of night
> Most faithfull unto privaties, O golden starres whose light
> Doth jointly with the Moone succeede the beams that blaze by day,
> . . . . . .
> Ye Charmes and Witchcrafts, and thou Earth which both with herbe and weed
> Of mightie working furnishest the Wizardes at their neede::
> Ye Ayres and windes: ye Elves of Hilles, of Brookes, of Woods alone,
> Of standing Lakes, and of the Night approche ye everychone.
> Through helpe of whom (the crooked bankes much wondring at the thing)
> I have compelled streames to run cleane backward to their spring.
> By charmes I make the calme Seas rough, and make the rough Seas plaine
> And cover all the Skie with Cloudes, and chase them thence againe.
>
> (VII.258-70)

There is nothing here to suggest that Medea is practicing the black arts. She is rather turning the powerful forces in nature to good purpose. Medea then flies to the highest mountain to,

> . . . view
> What herbes on high mount Pelion, and what on Ossa grew,
> And what on Mountaine Othris, and on Pyndus growing were,
> And what Olympus (greater than mount Pyndus far) did beare.
> Such herbes of them as liked hir she pullde up roote and rinde.
>
> (VII.294-8)

Then,

> Nine dayes with winged Dragons drawen, nine nights in Chariot swift

She searching everie field and frith from place to place did shift.

(VII.309-310)

She begs,

> . . . all the Elves and Gods that on or in the earth doe dwell,
> To spare olde Aesons life a while, and not in hast deprive
> His limmes of that same aged soule which kept them yet alive.
> (VII.326-8)

After boiling the herbs, she replaces the "old bloud" of Aeson with the "boyled juice" of the herbs. Suddenly, Aeson's hair,

> As well of head as beard, from gray to coleblacke turned were.
> His leane, pale, hore, and withered corse grew fulsome, faire and fresh:
> His furrowed wrincles were fulfilde with yonge and lustie flesh.
> His limmes waxt frolicke, baine and lithe: at which he wondring much,
> Remembred that at fortie yeares he was the same or such.
> And as from dull unwieldsome age to youth he backward drew:
> Even so a lively youthful spright did in his heart renew.
> (VII.375-81)

In her allusion Jessica has borrowed Golding's night imagery with its "golden starres whose light / Doth jointly with the Moone succeede the beams that blaze by day." She has absorbed Golding's sense of enchantment and recalled that "In such a night Medea gathered the enchanted herbs." She has used Golding's diction in the phrase, "That did renew old Aeson," for Golding describes Aeson's rejuvenation: "Even so a lively youthfull spright did in his heart renew."

There is also another context to Jessica's allusion, namely, the other Jason-Medea allusions in <u>The Merchant</u>. <u>The Merchant</u> frequently refers to men as Jasons in quest of the golden fleece. For example, Bassanio describes his love quest to Antonio as follows:

> In Belmont is a Lady richly left,
> And she is faire, and fairer than that word
> . . . . . .

> Nor is the wide world ignorant of her worth,
> For the foure windes blow in from every coast
> Renouned suitors, and her sunny locks
> Hang on her temples like a golden fleece,
> Which makes her seat of Belmont Colchos' strond,
> And many Jasons come in quest of her.[100]

Later Gratiano also tells Salerio that Bassanio and he are Jasons and that they have won their golden fleece by attaining the hands of Portia and Nerissa:

> Your hand Salerio,--What's the news from Venice?
> How doth that royal merchant good Antonio?
> I know he will be glad of our success,
> We are the Jasons, we have won the fleece.
> (III.ii.237-40)

In Act Five, then, when Jessica refers to Medea's renewal of old Aeson, she is also recalling a motif that has already sounded twice in the play. She is suggesting to Lorenzo that she is really the golden fleece which he has carried off. She has left father and home in order to be with him. And like Medea, she brings youth, love, and life in herself, the golden fleece. In the following response Lorenzo will challenge this interpretation.

Of the four classical allusions made by Lorenzo and Jessica, perhaps the Medea allusion is the richest. All four are parallel insofar as they deal with similar images, motifs, and tone: moonlight, a lovers' quarrel, fidelity, elopement, abandonment, death, life, paternal love, and filial gratitude. The first two allusions focus on fidelity: Troilus

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[100] The Merchant, I.i.171-2, 178-82. If Shakespeare was using Golding's Ovid for this passage, "Colchos' strond" would seem to be the correct reading and the following variants incorrect: "Cholchos strond" (Folio and Furness Variorum); "Colchos' strand" (Steevens, et al., Malone Shakespeare). Golding's Ovid reads: "Jason safely took the fleece of golde. . . . And so with conquest and a wife he loosde from Colchos strond" (VII.215, 218).

as an example of a faithful lover, and Thisbe as an example of sacrificial fidelity. And the second two allusions focus on life, death, and suffering of lovers: Dido beckons the return of her lover with a death symbol; while Medea's love is so intense that she will bestow life, youth and golden fleece out of gratitude, but if spurned she will bring vindicating death.

Jessica's Unthrift Love and the Pattern of Quarreling

The patterns of unthrift love and quarreling throughout the whole and especially in the last act of The Merchant suggest the ambiguity of the resolution and harmony of Belmont and of the play itself. Up to this point in the lovers' quarrel, Lorenzo and Jessica hide the relevant issues behind a montage of Biblical, liturgical, and classical allusions. In his first allusion, Lorenzo makes no mention of the risk involved in trusting people, nor of the fact that love brings death. Yet this is his point, and Jessica knows it, for she defends her trustworthiness and love by alluding to Thisbe. But the relevant issues are again submerged; she makes no open mention of martyrdom and sacrificing all for love. Lorenzo, however, recognizes the issues and suggests that the so-called martyr, Dido, while trying to appear like a good woman who was unjustly abandoned, was really a vindictive, self-willed, suicidal witch. With no hesitation, Jessica alludes to Medea and reiterates one of the central motifs of The Merchant: love and hate transform both men and women; hate brings death to both; while love--if one is willing to die for the other--paradoxically brings new life to both.

So far Lorenzo also seems to be losing the argument, and Jessica

truthfully claims, "I would out-night you did nobody come" (V.i.23). When Lorenzo says he is a faithful Troilus, Jessica replies that he is more like a Pyramus full of promises but too slow in keeping them. And when Lorenzo playfully mocks Jessica's self-portrait as a martyr and tells her she beckons with a death symbol in the name of love, Jessica reminds him that even Medea the witch responded to Aeson's love with blessings of renewed life and vigor, with treasures and the golden fleece.

At this point Lorenzo openly and playfully recalls Jessica's elopement, disobedience, ingratitude, prodigality, and theft, saying in effect, "Is your stealing supposed to be my blessing?" Dropping the classical pattern and retaining the liturgical pattern, Lorenzo answers:

> In such a night
> Did Jessica steal from the wealthy Jew
> And with an unthrift love did run from Venice,
> As far as Belmont.
> (V.i.14-17)

Lorenzo is using the word steal ambiguously. It was bad enough, he puns, to "steal" away from your father, but it was worse to "steal" his money, his family jewels, and to cut yourself off completely from "the wealthy Jew."

Lorenzo's use of the word unthrift also has a double meaning since Jessica squandered the twenty ducats stolen from Shylock and she also loved Lorenzo with an uncalculating, simple, generous, trusting, "unthrift love." Thus, in matters of both love and money Jessica's unconcern for thrift is diametrically opposed to her father's philosophy of thrift. Lorenzo playfully and directly focuses on the opposition between thrift and sacrificial love, Jessica and her father. In effect he is saying, your father's life depends on his thrift, money, and interest, while

you have demonstrated your prodigality and now claim that an unthrift and prodigal love brings new life.

As we saw earlier, Shylock's philosophy of thrift and increase has been a recurrent theme and a point of tension between himself and Christians:

> I hate him for he is a Christian,
> But more for that in low simplicity
> He lends out money gratis and brings down
> The rate of usance.
> (I.iii.43-6)

For Shylock there is no blessing or happiness in Christian generosity and in prodigal love. He sees the blessings of God in the calculating thrift and self-sustaining efforts of Jacob who outwitted his brother Esau and his uncle Laban: "This was a way to thrive, and he was blest. / And thrift is blessing, if men steal it not" (I.iii.90-1). He also tries to teach Jessica to be of like mind: "Fast bind, fast find, / A proverb never stale in thrifty mind" (II.v.54-5)

Shylock also rejects mercy as a type of unthrift love. When Portia says, "Then must the Jew be merciful," Shylock simply replies: "On what compulsion must I? Tell me that" (IV.i.182-3). Portia then tries to soften Shylock's hardened heart by reminding him that mercy is the better half of justice and an "attribute to God himself":

> The quality of mercy is not strain'd,
> It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
> Upon the place beneath: it is twice blest,
> It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes,
> . . . . . .
> It is an attribute to God himself;
> And earthly power doth then show likest God's
> When mercy seasons justice: therefore Jew,
> Though justice be thy plea, consider this,

> That in the course of justice, none of us
> Should see salvation:[101] we do pray for mercy,
> And that same prayer, doth teach us all to render
> The deeds of mercy.
>
> (IV.i.180-3, 191-8)

Here Portia uses images and themes from Scripture and the liturgy. But they are so smoothly integrated into her speech that Richmond Noble, after mentioning that Shakespeare is "indebted to Ecclus. 35:19 and Deut. 32:2," cautiously observes that this is a "more difficult example" of one of Shakespeare's allusions to the Bible. For Shakespeare "was fond of paraphrase, like a man who loves words and tries his hand at free translation."[102]

Ecclesiasticus reads: "O howe faire a thing is mercie in the time of anguishe and trouble? it is like a cloude of raine that cometh in the time of drought" (35:19). Deuteronomy reads: "My doctrine shall drop as doeth the raine: and my speache shall flowe as doeth the dew, as the showre upon the hearbes, and as the droppes upon the grasse" (32:2). Portia's images also recall the popular liturgical hymn of Advent, the "Rorate Caeli":

> Refrain: Send down rain from above, you heavens, and pour forth the just, you clouds.
>
> Verse 1: Do not be angry, O Lord, nor always mindful of our iniquity. See, the Holy City is deserted, Jerusalem has become deserted, Jerusalem is desolate--the home of your holiness and glory, where our fathers praised you.

---

[101] As Noble points out, this is an allusion to Psalm 143:2: "Enter not into judgemente with thy servants, O Lord, for no fleshe is righteous in thy syght" (Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge, p. 167). This verse is also quoted at morning prayers on the thirtieth day of each month (Prayer Book [1559], p. 311), and is a doctrine heavily stressed by Calvin.

[102] Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge, p. 26.

Refrain: Send down rain from above, you heavens, and pour forth the just, you clouds.

Verse 2: We have sinned and become like the unclean; we have fallen like leaves on the earth and our iniquities have blown us about like the wind. You have hidden your face from us and lifted us in your hand to judge our iniquity.

Refrain: Send down rain from above, you heavens, and pour forth the just, you clouds.

Verse 3: O Lord, look upon the affliction of your people and send them help. O Lord of earth, send the Lamb from the desert rocks to the mountain, to your daughter, Jerusalem that the yoke of our captivity might be lifted off.

Refrain: Send down rain from above, you heavens, and pour forth the just, you clouds.

Verse 4: Be comforted, be comforted, my people: your help will come quickly. Why are you consumed with sorrow? why does sadness waste you away? I will save you, do not fear, Holy Israel, for I am the Lord your God, your Redeemer.

Refrain: Send down rain from above, you heavens, and pour forth the just, you clouds.[103]

Portia, then, pictures mercy as an abundant, uncalculating love extending to the sad, afflicted, abandoned, wronged, needy, bankrupt, and prodigal. And in Shylock's thrifty mind such mercy is a prodigal love: "tell me not of mercy--this is the fool that lends out money gratis" (III.iii.1-2). Shylock is more comfortable with the following Biblical thought and image of abundance:

> The Lorde shall make thee an holy people unto himself, as he hath sworne unto thee. . . . and all nations of the earth shall see. . . . The Lorde shall open unto thee his good treasure, the heaven to give raine unto thy land in due season . . . and thou shalt lende unto many nations, but shalt not borowe thy selfe. (Deut. 28:9-10, 12)

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[103]This is my translation of the Latin which can be found in Appendix II along with the music. Cantus ad Processiones et Benedictiones SSmi Sacramenti (Glen Rock, N.J., 1927), pp. 18-19; also in Liber Usualis, ed. by the Benedictines of Solesme (Tournai, Belgium, 1938), p. 1868.

But as the Bishops' Bible (1585) points out in a gloss: "nothing upon earth can prosper, unlesse God by his heavenly blessing encrease and conserve it. For he will declare that he is thy God, that thou art his chosen people." The abundant harmony and resolution of Belmont comes gratis from heaven falling not upon the thrifty and self-sufficient but upon those who are willing to be prodigal with their love and run the risk of trusting people.

However, the harmony of Belmont and the resolution of The Merchant is dimly perceptible because it is built on a paradox. Characteristic of this paradoxical or seeming harmony is the importance of quarrels in The Merchant. The play opens and closes with quarrels, suggesting that resolution and harmony are but dimly perceived by any in The Merchant. In Act One Shylock and Antonio angrily clash over money and usury in a matter of life and death. Act Five opens with the playful lovers' quarrel and closes with the playful ring quarrel, quarrels in which the lovers demand even more than Shylock, namely, the willingness to die. And, amazingly, the death demanded by lovers offers a more harmonious, though paradoxical, resolution than the death demanded by an enemy.

At this point, I believe, we can risk saying that Shakespeare's use of Biblical, liturgical, and classical allusions is not only functional and accurate but also ornamental. And in conclusion, I would like to examine one more montage of allusions from Act Five. Gazing at the bright stars and moon shining above the garden, Lorenzo tells Jessica:

> . . . look how the floor of heaven
> Is thick inlaid with patens of bright gold,
> There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st
> But in his motion like an angel sings,
> Still quiring to the young-ey'd Cherubins;
> Such harmony is in immortal souls,

But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it.
(V.i.58-65)

Although Lorenzo is alluding to the music of the spheres, those "touches of sweet harmony" which only those freed from "this muddy vesture of decay" can hear, he is also using words with a religious connotation and an image that suggests the liturgy of Ash Wednesday. He refers to the sky as the "floor of heaven." He refers to the stars as "patens of bright gold," that is, like the thin gold plate used to hold the "bread of heaven" in the distribution of Holy Communion.[104] He refers to the harmonious motion of the spheres each of which "sings" "like an angel," "quiring" to the bright-eyed "Cherubins." And he refers to man's body as "this muddy vesture of decay," the central image of the liturgy for Ash Wednesday. On Ash Wednesday the priest places ashes and dust on the foreheads of all the people reminding each one: "Memento homo quia cinis es; et in cinerem reverteris" (Remember, man, that you are dust and will return again to dust.)[105]

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[104]The Eucharistic bread is often called the bread of (or from) heaven, an allusion to the Manna which God sent down. For example, in the devotion called Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, the priest displays the Eucharist on the altar for the congregation to see and then chants the versicle: "Panem de caelo praestitisti eis" (You gave them bread from heaven). The people answer: "Omne delectamentum in se habenten (which contains every delight,) Cantus ad Processiones et Benedictiones SSmi. Sacramenti, p. 95.

[105]Salisbury Processional, fo. xxxiii. The Prayer Book (1559), retained the Ash Wednesday liturgy but simplified it. See also John Erskins Hankins, Shakespeare's Derived Imagery (Lawrence, Kans., 1953), pp. 39-53, for a discussion of Shakespeare's use of "And all our yesterdays have lighted fools / The way to dusty death" (Macbeth, V.v.22-3). Hankins notes several sources for this image: Genesis 3:9, the Burial Service in the Prayer Book, Job 34:15, Psalms 103:14, and Ecclesiastes 3:20.

When Lorenzo explains that each of the spheres in the heavens,

> like an angel sings,
> Still quiring to the young-ey'd cherubins,
> (V.i.61-2)

he is using an image which can be found in the "Te Deum" sung daily at morning prayers. This liturgical hymn tells of the angelic choir singing to one another about the glory of heaven and earth:

> To thee all Angels cry aloud: the heavens and all the
> Powers therein.
> To thee Cherubin and Seraphin, continually to cry.
> Holy, holy, holy Lord God of Sabaoth.
> Heaven and earth are full of the Majesty of thy glory.[106]

In the arms of his beloved Jessica, Lorenzo is explaining that the harmony, resolution, and joy of Belmont has a heavenly, natural, religious, angelic, paradoxical, liturgical, and lovely quality which is delightful but only dimly perceived:

> Such harmony is in immortal souls,
> But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
> Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it.
> (V.i.63-5)

Thus, by combining the philosophical theory of the music of the spheres, the angelic praises of creation in the "Te Deum," and the mud and death imagery from the Ash Wednesday liturgy, Lorenzo suggests that perfect harmony and resolution is heard clearly by heaven but only dimly to those who are still held in the bondage of this "muddy vesture of decay."

In the garden of Belmont the bitter antagonism between Jew and gentile dissolves as Lorenzo and Jessica lovingly encounter one another under the calm, starry, moonlit expanse of heaven. And yet, perfect

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[106] Prayer Book (1559), p. 57.

harmony is only "in immortal souls." Act Five does present a credible resolution, but it takes the form of a lovers' quarrel. For the resolution of The Merchant is a real, playful, warm, passionate, human resolution, subject to pride and error, demanding sacrifice, and leading to renewed life:

> In such a night
> Did pretty Jessica (like a little shrew)
> Slander her love, and he forgave it her.
> (V.i.20-22)

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APPENDICES

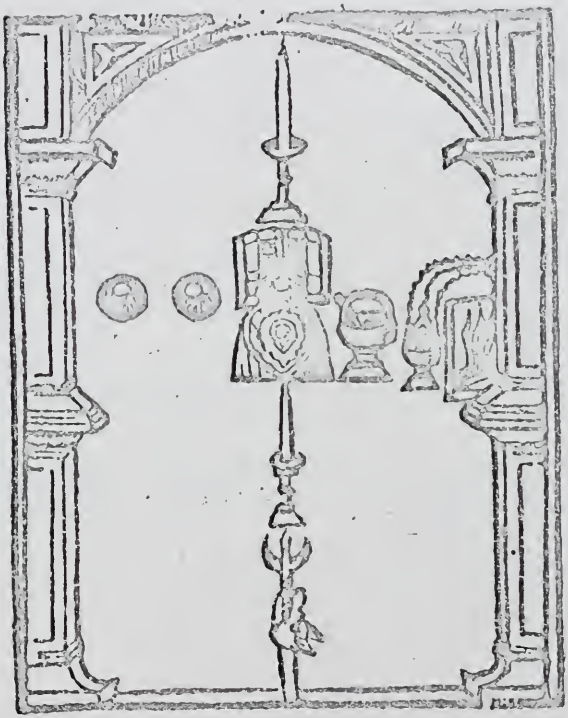
In vigilia

autē de prima forma accolitus scilicet in superpel
licio extinctū cereū de trib⁹ candelis tortis in vnū
in una parte: desuper autē ab inuicē diuisis super
quandā hastā deferat. Et processio procedat post
portitorē aque benedicte per mediū chori ad fon-
tes et ad nouū ignē benedicendū. Chor⁹ autē se-
quatur habitu nō mutato excellentiorib⁹ precedē
tib⁹ ad columnā ex parte australi iuxta fōtē/ vbi
sacerdos executor officij illius dieignē benedicat
qui accēdatur ibidē videlicet inter duas colūnas.
In eūdo dr̄ iste ps̄ a toto cho. alternati sine nota.

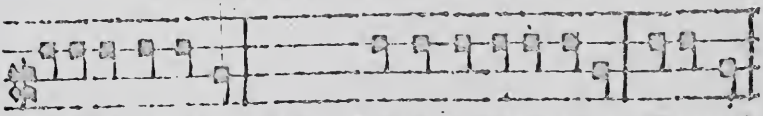
Dominus illuminatio mea & salus mea: quē
timebo. Dñs ꝓtector vite mee: a quo tre-
pidabo. Dum appropiāt super me nocentes: vt
edāt carnes meas. Qui tribulāt me inimici mei:
ipsi infirmati sunt & ceciderūt. Si cōsistāt aduer-
sū me castra: nō timebit cor meū. Si exurgat ad
uersum me preliū: in hoc ego sperabo. Unā petij
a dño hanc requirā: vt inhabitē in domo dñi om-
nib⁹ dieb⁹ vite mee. Ut videā voluntatē dñi: et
visitē templū eius. Quoniā abscondit me in ta-
bernaculo suo: in die malorū protexit me in abscō
dito tabernaculi sui. In petra exaltauit me & nūc
exaltauit caput meū: super inimicos meos. Cir-
cuiui & immolaui in tabernaculo ei⁹ hostiā voci-
ferationis: cantabo & psalmū dicā dño. Exaudi
dñe vocē meā qua clamaui ad te: miserere mei et
exaudi me. Tibi dixit cor meū/ exq̄siuit te facies

mea: faciē tuā dñe requirā. Ne auertas faciē tu
am a me: ne declines in ira a seruo tuo. Adiutor
meꝰ esto dñe ne derelinquas me neq; despicias me
deꝰ salutaris meꝰ. Quoniā pater meus & mater
mea dereliquerūt me: dñs aūt assumpsit me. Le
gem pone mihi dñe in via tua et dirige me in semi
ta recta propter inimicos meos. Ne tradideris
me in animas tribulantiū me: quoniā insurrexe
runt in me testes iniqui: et mentita est iniquitas
sibi. Credo videre bona dñi in terra viuentium.
Expecta dñm viriliter age & cōfortetur cor tuū:
et sustine dñm. Et sine Gloria patri et filio. neq;
Sicut erat in principio. Hoc modo fiat statio ad
ignē benedictū. Sacerdos iuxta ignē stet ad o-
rientem conuersus: & ad sinistrum eius stet dya-
conus: subdyaconus vero ad sinistrum dyaconi:
vnus ceroferariꝰ stet sacerdoti oppositꝰ: ad dex-
trū cuius stet puer ferens librū proximior sacer-
doti. Alius autē ceroferarius stet retro sacerdo-
tem/ ad dextrum cuius stet portitor aque proxi-
mior sacerdoti / & vltimo loco vltra oēs a parte
occidentali stet portitor haste cū ceroferario ex a-
lia parte ignis videlicet ex parte australi stet thu
ribularius ad accipiendū ignē in thuribulo/ post
benedictionē omnibꝰ istis ministris ad sacerdo-
tem conuersis: choro interim circunstante vide-
licet ex parte boreali: vt patet in statione sequēti.

In vigilia



Sequitur benedictio ignis in vigilia pasche solemniter a sacerdote dicenda.



Dñs vobiscũ. Cho. Et cũ spiritu tuo. Oremꝰ.

Domine deꝰ noster pater opꝰ lumẽ indeficiẽs: conditor omniũ luminũ: exaudi nos famulos tuos: ⁊ bñ✠dic hũc ignẽ qui tua sapctificatione atq; bñdictiõe cõsecrat. Tu illuminas

omnē hominem venientē in hunc mundū: illumi
na conscientias cordis nostri igne tue claritatis/
vt tuo igne igniti/ tuo lumine illuminati/ expul
sis a cordib⁹ nostris peccatoꝝ tenebris ad vitā te
illustrante puenire mereamur eternā. Et sicut il
luminasti ignē moysi famulo tuo per columnā i-
gnis ambulāti in mari rubro: ita illustra nēm lu
mē vt cādela q̄ de eo fuerit accensa: in honore ma
iestatis tue semp̄ perseueret benedicta: vt quicun
que ex eo lumine
portauerit sit il-
luminatus mise
ricordie gr̄e spiri
tu alis. Per dominū. Per om-
Dēs orones dicūt cū
Orē⁹. sub tono supra-
dicto. hic asp̄gat aqua
ni a secula seculoꝝ. Amē. bñd. sup̄ ignē: ꝛ sequat

Domin⁹ vobiscū. Cho. Et cū spiritu tuo. Orē⁹

Domine sancte pater op̄s eterni deus/ be-
ne ✠ dicere/ et sanctificare digneris ignē
istum quē nos indigni per inuocationem vnige-
niti filij tui dñi nostri iesu christi bene ✠ dicere
presumimus: tu clementissime pater cū tua bñ ✠
dictione sanctifica: et ad profectū humani gene-
ris peruenire concede. Per christum. Oremus.

In vigilia

Celesti lumine quesumus dñe semper & vbique nos preueni: vt mysteriũ cuius nos participes esse voluisti: & puro cernamus intuitu/ & digno percipiamus affectu. Per dominũ nostrũ iesum christũ filium tuũ. Qui tecũ viuit & regnat in vnitate spiritus sancti deus. Per. ¶ Sequitur bñdictio thymiamatis siue incenti sub tono supradicto.

Exorcizo te immũdissime spiritus & omne fantasma inimici: in noĩe dei patris oĩpotẽtis et in nomine iesu christi filij eius et in virtute spiritussctĩ: vt exeas & recedas ab hac creatura thymiamatis siue incensi cũ omni fallacia atque nequitia tua vt sit hec creatura tua sanctifi ✠ cata in noĩe dñi nostri iesu christi: vt oẽs gustãtes tãgẽtes siue odorantes eã/ virtutẽ & auxiliũ percipiant spiritus sancti: ita vt vbicunque hoc incensũ vel thymiama fuerit: ibidẽ nullatenus appropĩquare audeas/ nec aduersa inferre presumas: sed quicunque immũde spiritus es: cũ omni versutia tua procul inde fugias atque discedas adiuratus per nomẽ et virtutẽ dei patris omnipotentis et filij eius dñi nostri iesu christi: qui venturus est iudicare viuos & mortuos & te preuaricatorem & seculũ per ignẽ. Oremus.

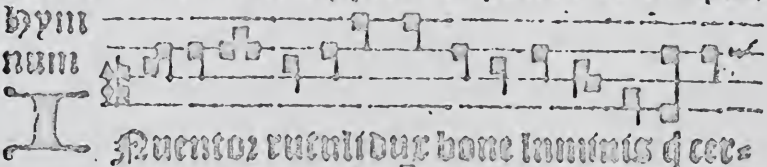
Eternã ac iustissimã pietatẽ tuã deprecamur dñe sctissime pater oĩpotẽs eterne deus vt bene ✠ dicere digneris hãc thymiamatis vel incensi speciẽ/ vt sit incẽsum maiestati tue in odorẽ suauitatis acceptũ sit a te species hec benedi-

cta ✠ sit per inuocationē sancti tui nominis san=
ctifi ✠ cata: ita vt vbicunq; fumus ei⁹ peruenerit
extricetur & extinguetur omne gen⁹ demoniorū:
sicut intensum iecoris piscis quā raphael archan
gelus thobiā famulum tuū docuit cū ascendit ad
sare liberationē. Per xp̄m dn̄m nr̄m. Oremus.

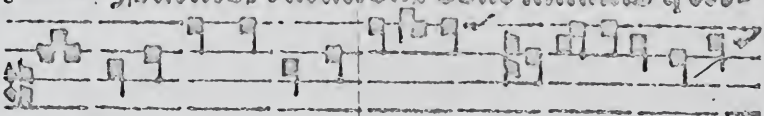
Descendat bn̄ ✠ dictio tua dn̄e sup hāc spe
ciē incensi & thymiamatis/sicut in illo die
quo dauid propheta cecinit dicens Dirigatur ora
tio mea sicut incensum in cōspectu tuo. Sit nobis
odor cōsolationis suauitatis & gratie/vt fumo i=
sto effugetur omne fantasma inimici: mētis & cor
poris: vt simus/pauli apl̄i voce/bonus odor deo
Effugiāt a facie incēsi hui⁹ & thymiamatis: om=
nis demonū incursus/sicut pulvis a facie vēti: & si
cut fum⁹ a facie ignis. Presta hoc piissime pater
boni odoris incensū ad opus eccl̄ie tue ob causam
religionis iugiter p̄manere: vt mystica nobis si=
gnificatione spiritualiū virtutū fragrās ostēdat
odor suauitatē: tua ergo oīpotens q̄s de⁹ immē=
se maiestatis dextera/hanc creatueā bn̄ ✠ dicere
ex diuersarū rerū cōmixtione infectā dignare vt
in virtute scti tui nois omnis immūdor spirituū
fantasticos īcursus effugare: omnesq; morbos red
dita sanitate expellere: vt vbicūq; fum⁹ aromatū
ei⁹ afflauerit mirabiliter possit: atq; in odore fra
grātissimo cibi perpetua suauitate redolere. Per.
Post bn̄dictionē incēsi ponat de ipsis carbon. i

In vigilia

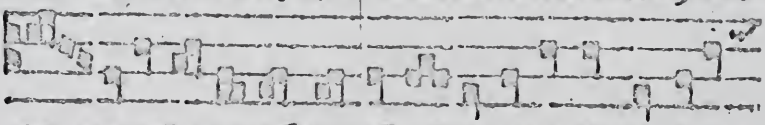
thuribul. cū incenso: & incendat nouꝰ ignis. Postea incendat cereꝰ sup hastā solus de nouo igne ceteris luminariis extinctis. In redeūdo duo clerici de .ij. forma in suppellicijs post sacer. incipiāt hymnum



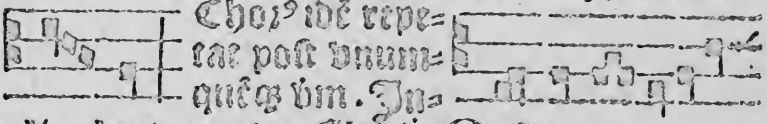
Nuentor rutuli dux bone luminis q̄ cer-



tis vicibus tempora diuidis merso sole chaos

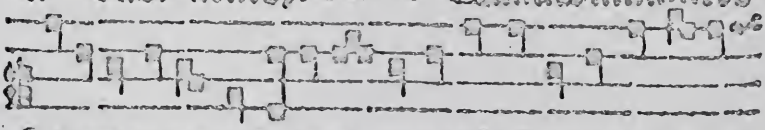


in gruit horri dū lumē redde tuis christe fide-

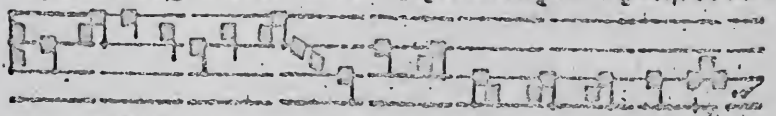


Choꝛꝰ idē repetat post vnumquēq; vm. In-

li bus. nentor. Clec. v. Quāuis innumero

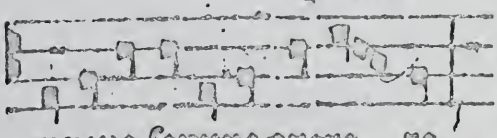


sydere regiam lunari q; polū lāpade pinxeris

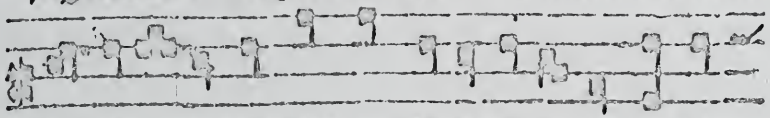


incur su si licis lu mina nos tamen mōstrat sa-

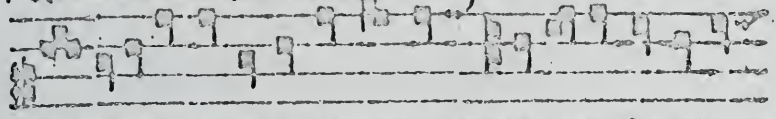
Chorus repetat Inuentor rutu si. Clerici prosequatur versum.



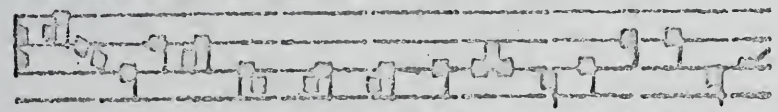
rigeno semine quere re.



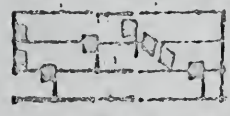
Ne nesci ret homo spem si bi luminis in chri-



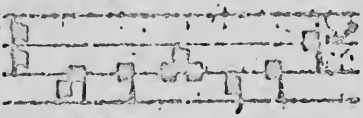
sti soli do corpore conditam qui di ci stabilem



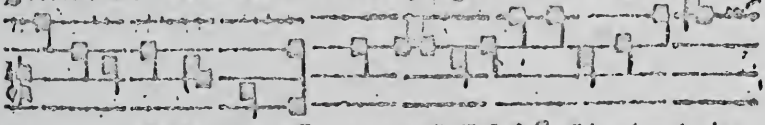
se volu it petram nostris i gniculis vnde



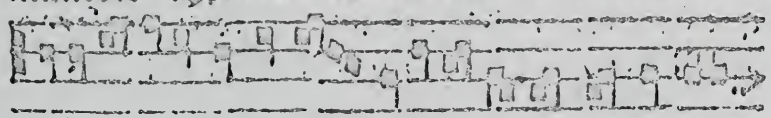
Chorus repetat Inuentor. Cle



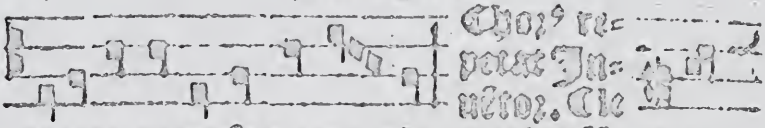
genus ve nit. rici versum. Splendet er go tuis.



muneribus christi flammis mobilibus scilicet a tri-

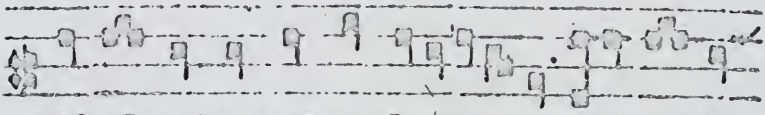


a absentemque diem lux. agit emu la quam nox cum

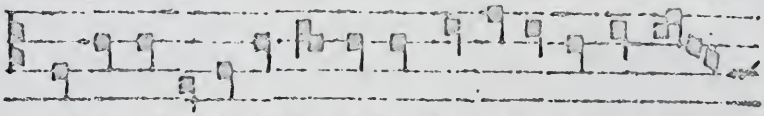


Chor⁹ repetat Inuẽtor. Clerici versũ.

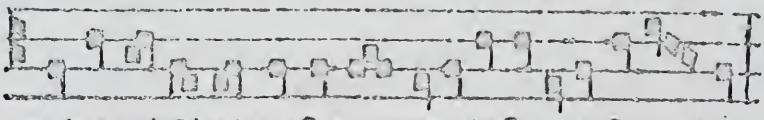
lacero victa fugit pe plo. Per



quẽ splẽdor honor laus sapienti a maiestas bo-



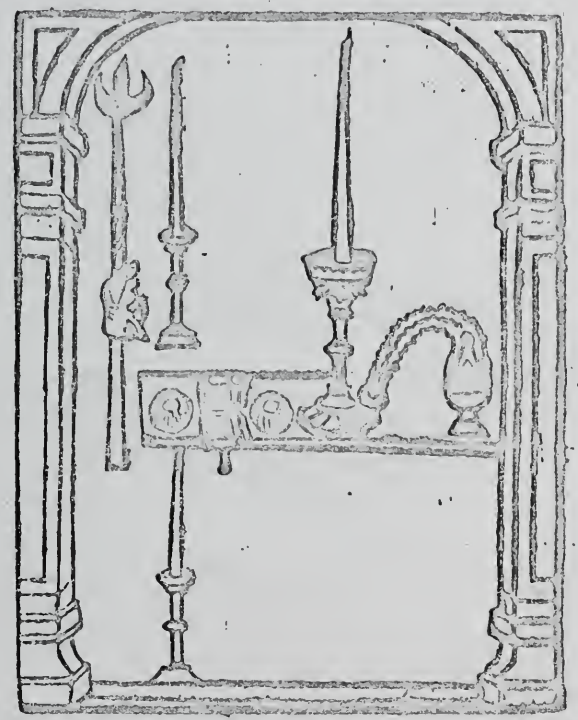
nitas et pietas tua regnũ cõtinuant nu-

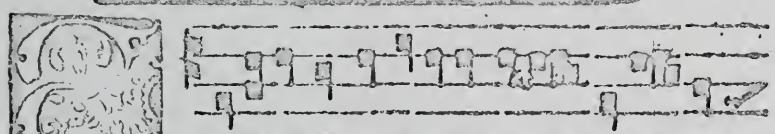


mine tripli ci texẽs perpetuis secula secu lis.

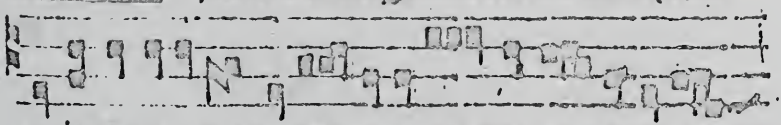
Deinde sequatur bñdictio cerei paschalis ab ipso dyacono induto ad processionẽ. Accepta prius benedictione ab executore officij ad boreã se conuertat/ ad gradũ presbyterij. Ceroferarij dyacono assistentes: vnus a dextera mann: alter a sinistra: ad ipsum dyaconũ conuersi/ cereis tamen extinctis excepto qui est super hastam. Subdyaconus vero tenens textũ stet dyacono oppositꝰ: iuxta quẽ stet portitor haste ex vna parte: et ceroferarij parui cerei/ vt patet in pictura que sequitur.

¶ Statio dum benedicitur cereus pascha
lis in vigilia pasche.



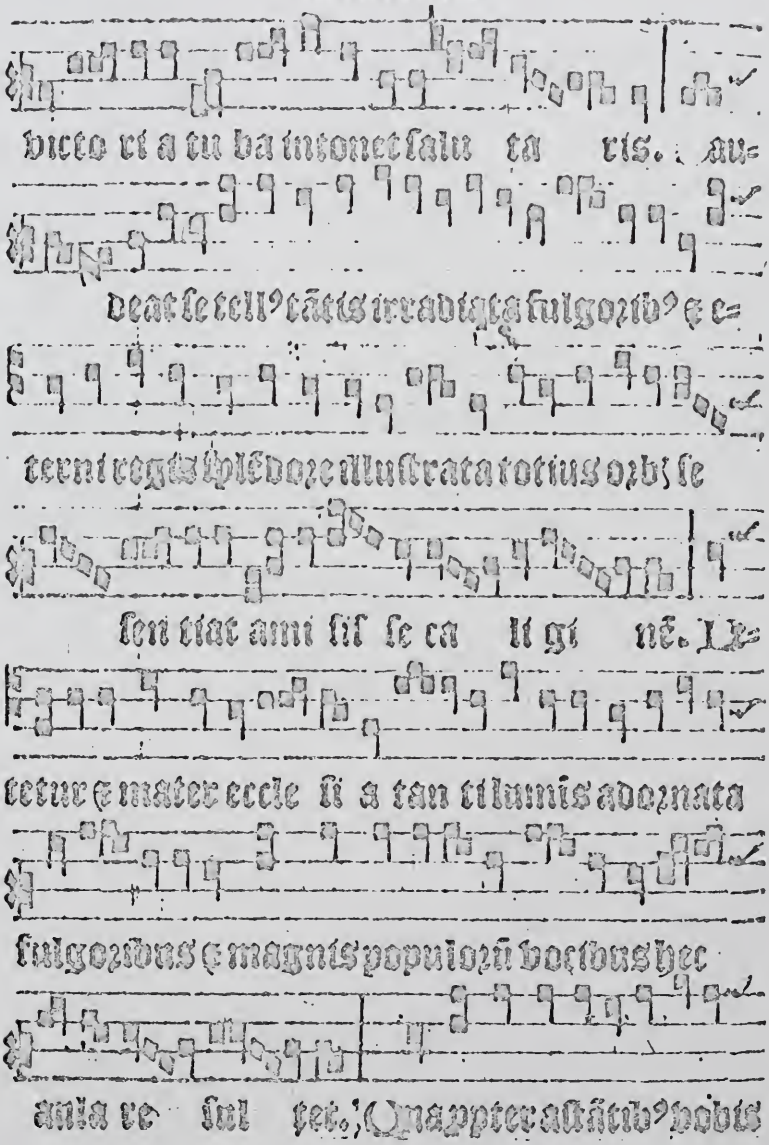


exultet iam angelica turba et lorum

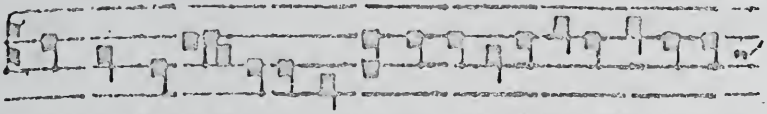


exultet divina myste ria et pro tanti regis

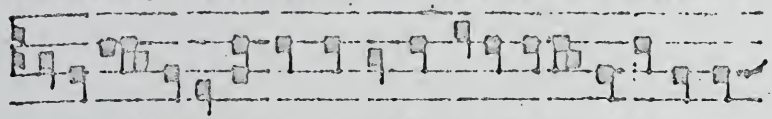
Benedictio


victo ri a tu ba intonet salu ta ris. au-
deat se tell⁹ tātis irradiata fulgorib⁹ ⁊ e-
terni regis splēdore illustrata totius orbis se
sen tiat ami sis se ca li gi nē. Le-
tetur ⁊ mater eccle si a tan ti lumis adornata
fulgoribus ⁊ magnis populorū vocibus hec
aula re sul tet. Quapp̄ter astātib⁹ vobis

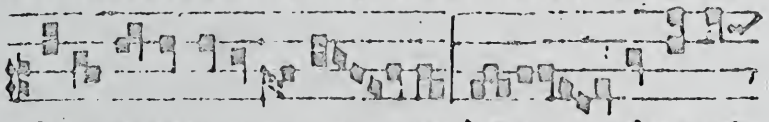
cerei paschalis. Fo. lxxxviij.



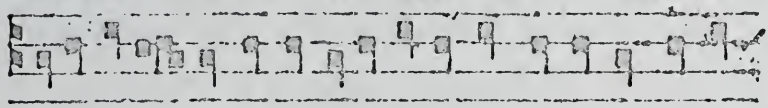
fratres charissimi ad tā mirā scti huius luminis



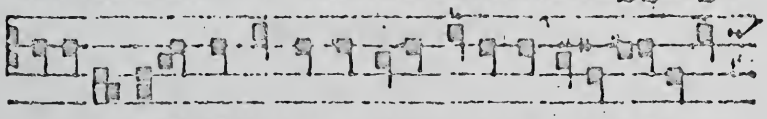
claritatem vna mecū queso de i omnipotētis mi=



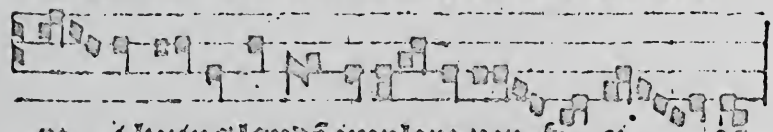
sericordiam inuo ca re. Ut q̄ me nō



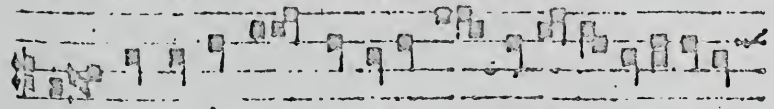
meis meritis intra leuitarū numerū aggrega=



re dignatus est luminis sui gratia infūdēte ce=



re i huius laudē implere per fi ci at.



Per dominū nostrū iesū christū filium suū q̄

Benedictio

cũ e o vivit ꝛ regnat deꝰ in vnita te spũs scti.

Per omnia se cula seculo rũ. Amẽ. Do-

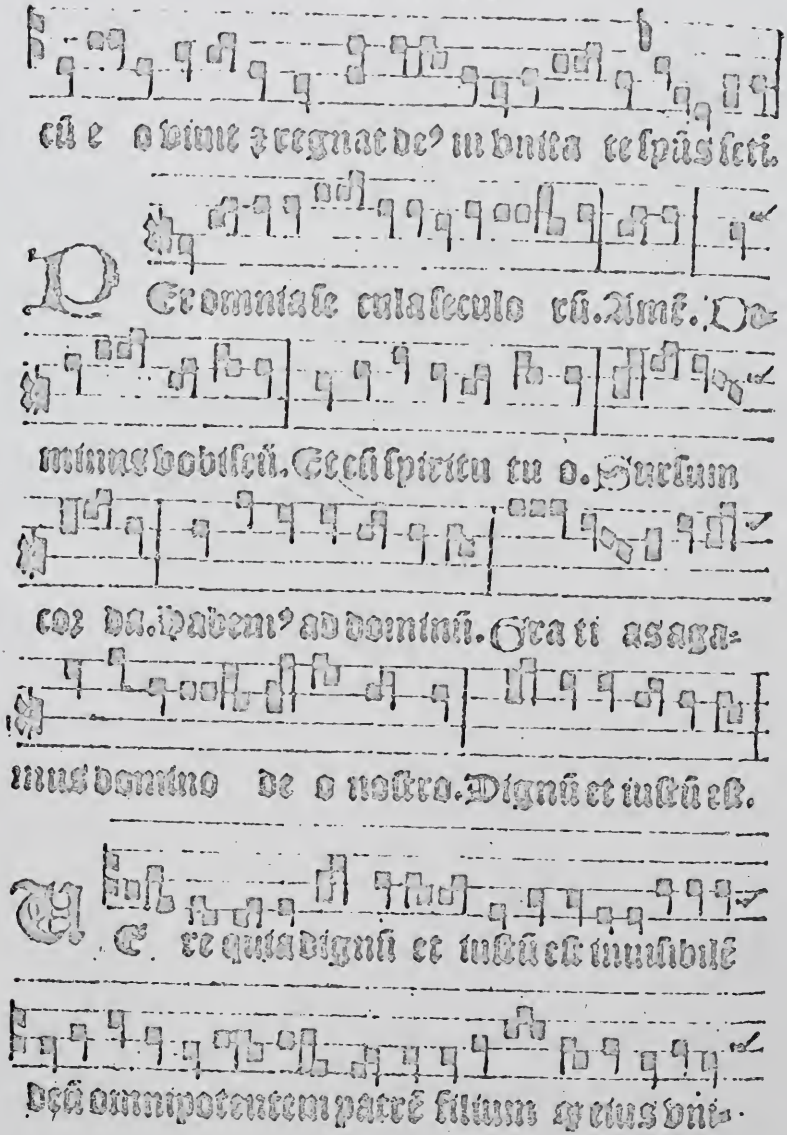
minus vobiscũ. Et cũ spiritu tu o. Sursum

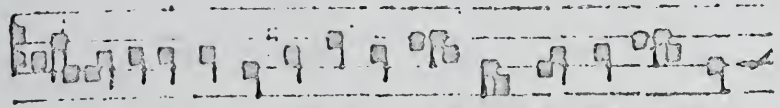
coꝛ da. Habemꝰ ad dominũ. Gra ti as aga-

mus domino de o nostro. Dignũ et iustũ est.

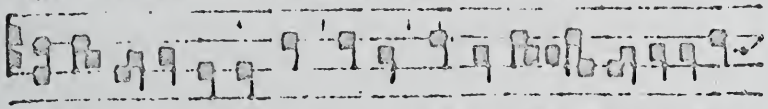
Ve re quia dignũ et iustũ est invisibilẽ

deũ omnipotentem patrẽ filium ꝙ eius vni-

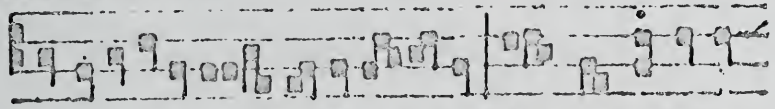




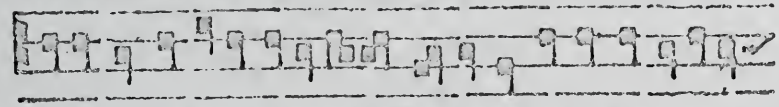
ge nitū dominū nēm te sum christū cū san-



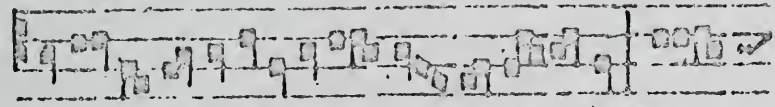
cto spi ritu toto cordis ac mētis af fectu et vo-



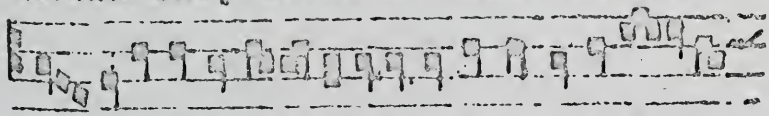
cis ministerio persona re. Qui pro nobis e-



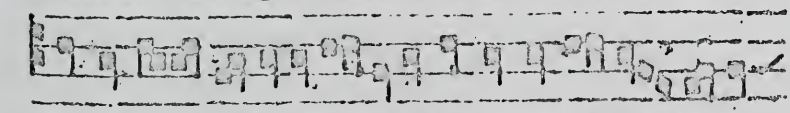
terno patri ade debitum soluit et veteris piacu-



li cauti onē pi o cruo re deter sit. Hec

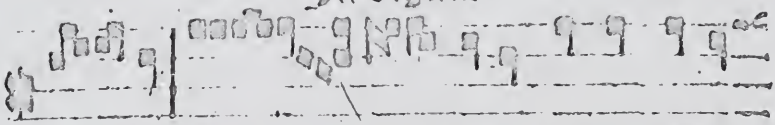


sunt eīn festa pa schalia in q̄bus ver⁹ il le

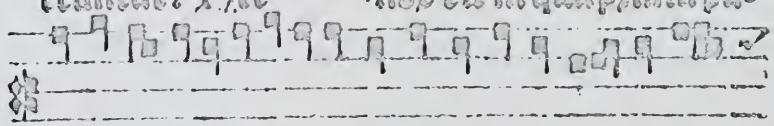


agn⁹ oc cidit ur e iusq; sāgutne postes conse-

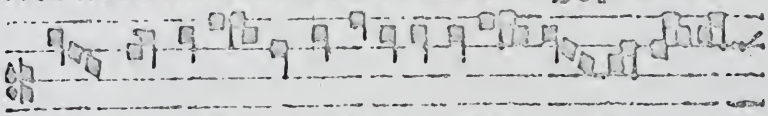
In vigilia



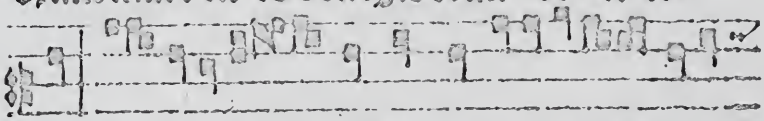
crantur. Hec nox est in qua primū pa=



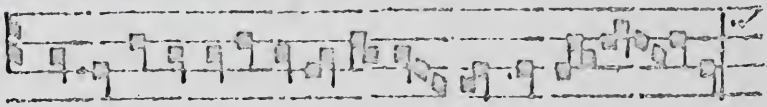
tres nr̄os filios israel eductos de e gypto ru=



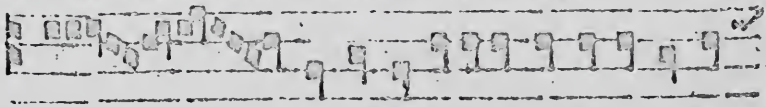
brum mare sic co vestigio trāsi re fe ci=



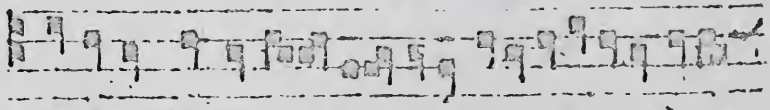
sti. Hec i gi tur nox est que peccatorū tene=



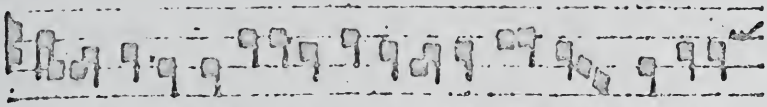
bras colūne illumina ti o ne purga nit.



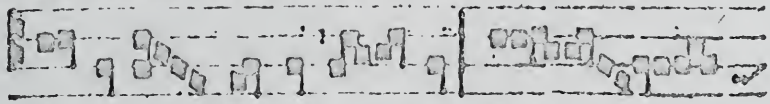
Hec nox est q̄ hodie per vniuersum



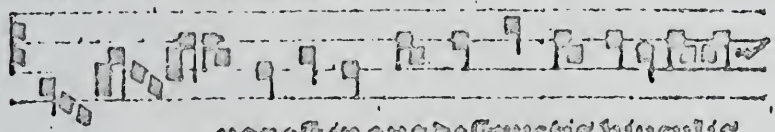
mūdū in christo cre dentes a vitijs seculi segre=



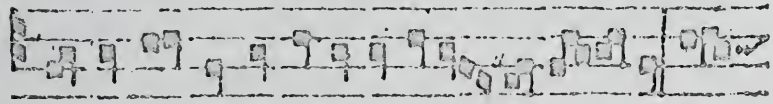
ga tos et caligine peccatorũ red dit grati e



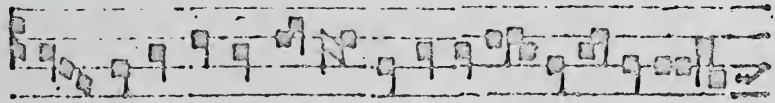
so ci at sancti ta ti. Hec



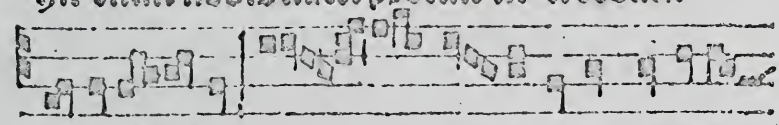
nox est in qua destructis vinculis



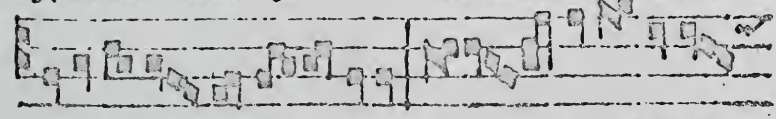
mortis christ⁹ ab inferis victor ascen dit. Di-



hil enim nobis nasci profuit ni si redimi



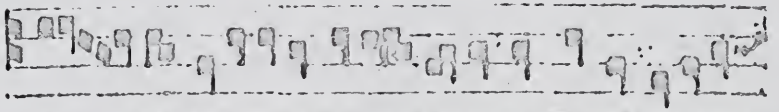
profuis set. ( ) mira circa nos tue



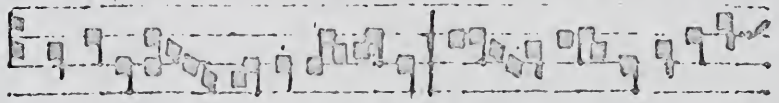
pie ta tis digna ti o. ( ) in estima-

m. ij.

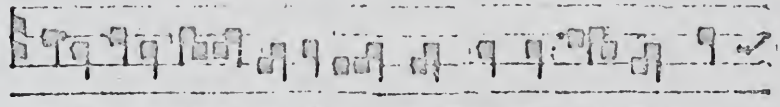
Benedictio



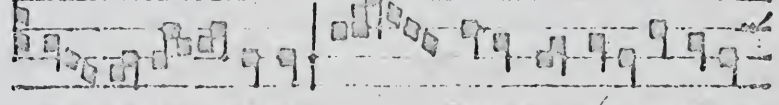
di lis dilectio chari tatis vt sernũ redime=



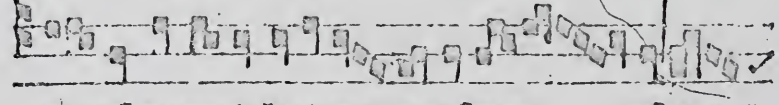
res fili um tradi di sti. O cer te necessa=



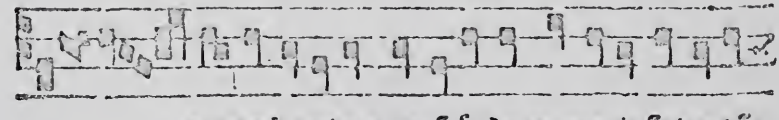
riũ ade pec catũ et nostrũ qd christi mor=



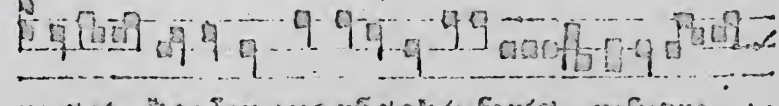
te de le tũ est. O felix culpa q̃ talẽ ac



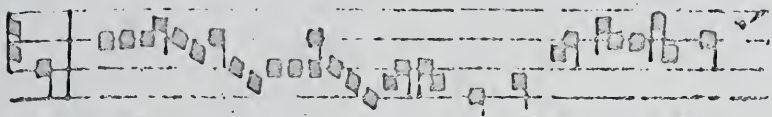
tantũ meruit habere redẽpto rẽ. O



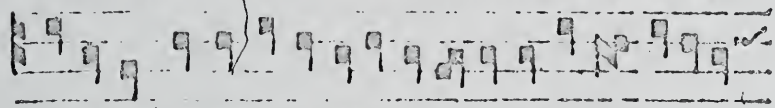
certe beata nox q̃ sola meruit scire tẽ=



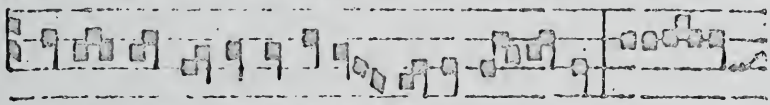
pus et horã in qua xp̃s ab inferis resurre=



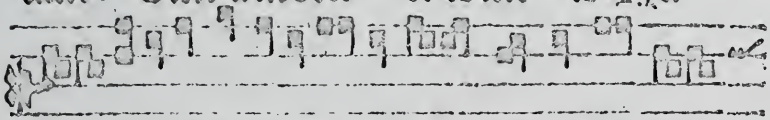
xit. Hec nox est de qua scri=



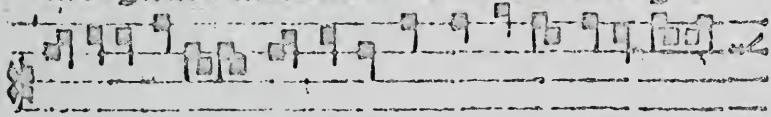
ptū est ⁊ nox vt dies illuminabitur ⁊ nox illumi=



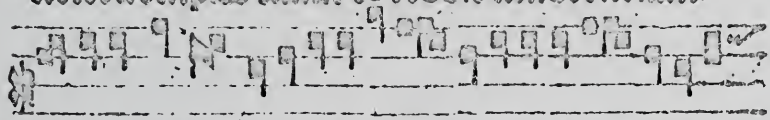
nati. o me a in deli ci is me is. Hu=



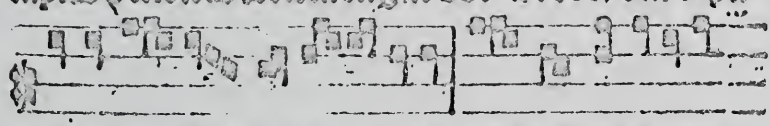
ius igitur sanctificati o noctis fu gat



scelera culpas lauat et reddit innocentiam.

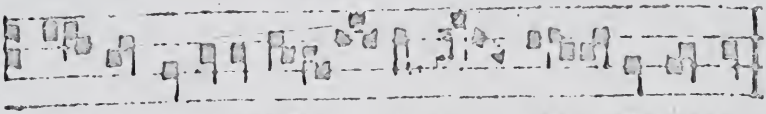


lapsis ⁊ mestis letitiā fugat odi a cōcordiam pa=



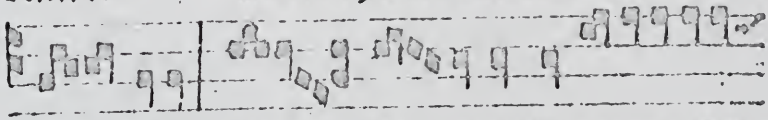
rat et cur uat impe ri a. In huius igitur

Benedictio

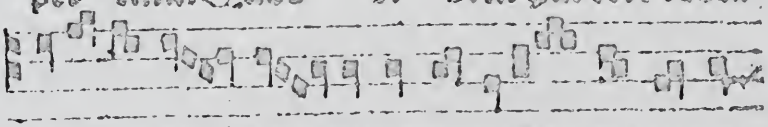


noctis gratia sus ci pe san cte pater.

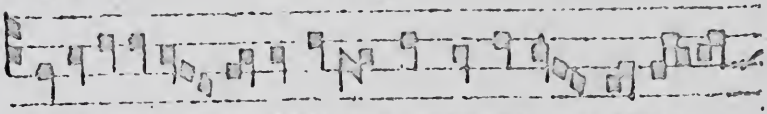
Hic dyaco. po nat incensum in cereū in mo duni cruciis. incensi huius sacrificium bes=



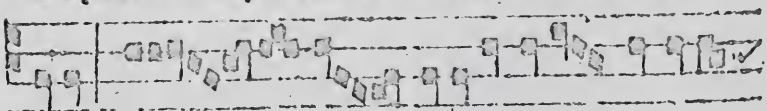
per tinū. Quod ti bi in hac cere i obla=



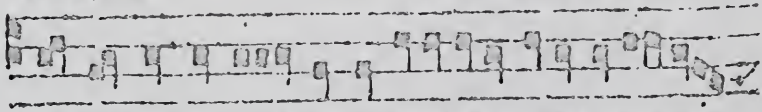
ti o ne so len ni per ministrorum manus



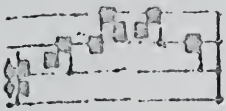
de operibus apū sacro sancta reddit ec cle=



si a. Sed iam colūne huius preconi=

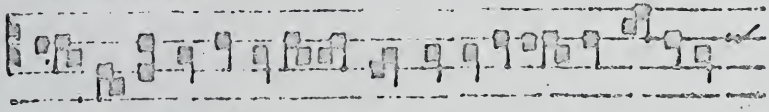


a nouimus quā in honorē dei rutilās ignis

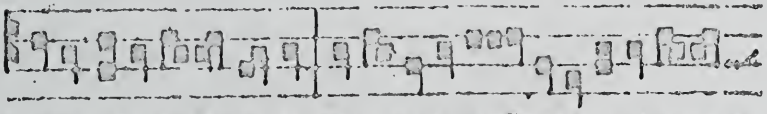


Hic accēdatur cereus paschalis de nouo igne: nec extinguat̄ ante cōpleto. diei sequētis. Hic accēdāt cetera luminaria per totā ecclesiam

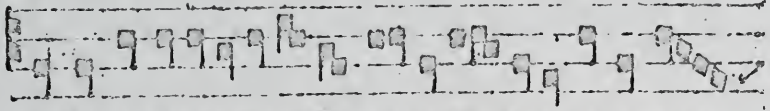
ac cen dit.



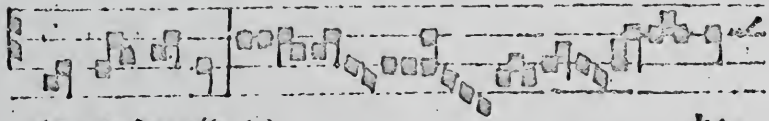
Qui licet diuisus in partes mutua ti luminis



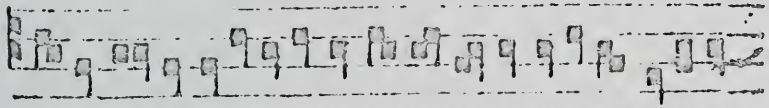
detrimēta nō nouit. Alitur liquātib⁹ cer; quas



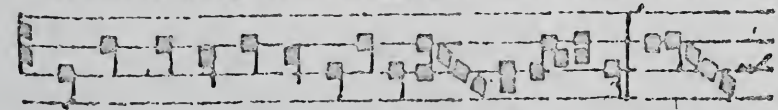
in substātia precio se huius lāpadis apes ma=



ter e duxit. ( ) be=

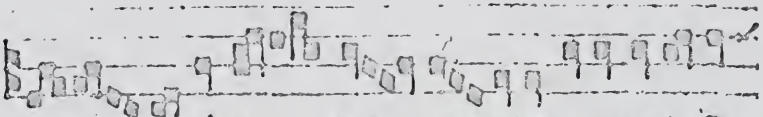


ata nox q̄ expoliauit egyptios ditauit hebreos

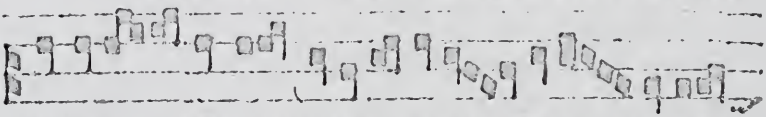


nox in qua terrenis celestia iūguntur. O=

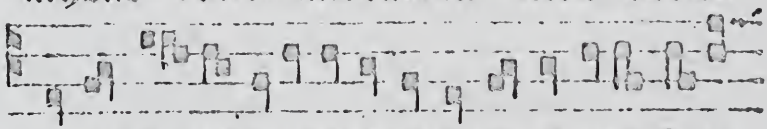
Benedictio



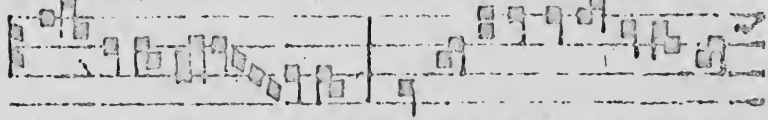
rauiꝰ te do mine vt cerensi ste



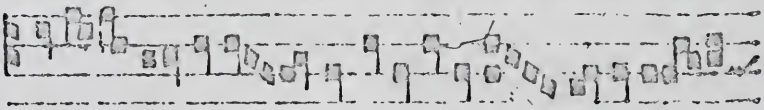
in hono rē nominis tui con secra tus ad



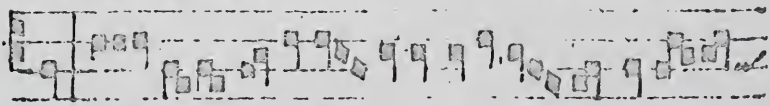
noctis hu ius caliginē destruendā inde fi ci-



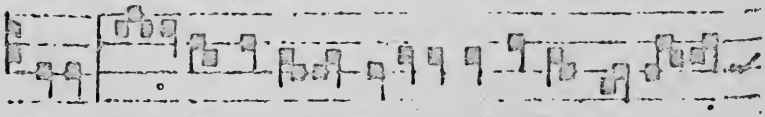
ens pse ue ret. In odorē su aui tatis



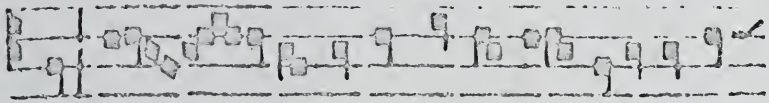
acce ptus super nis luminaribus miscea-



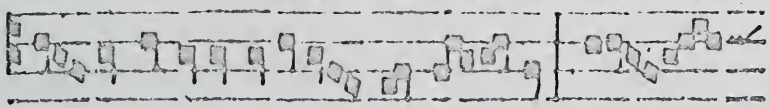
tur. Flāmas eius lu cifer matutinus inue-



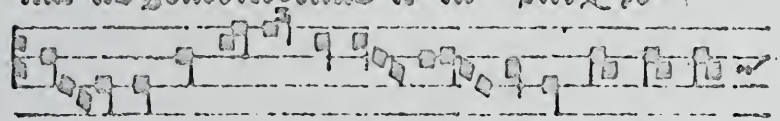
niat. Ille inquam lucifer q̄ nescit occa-



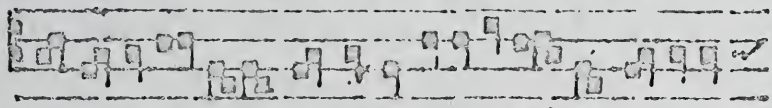
sum. Il le qui regressus ab inferis hu=



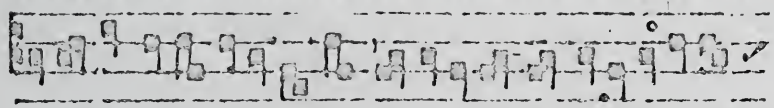
ma no generi serenus il lu xit. Pre=



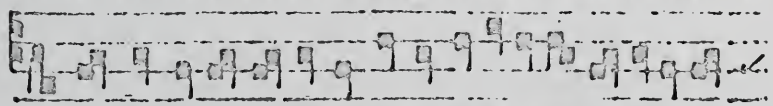
camur ergo te do mi ne vt nos famu=



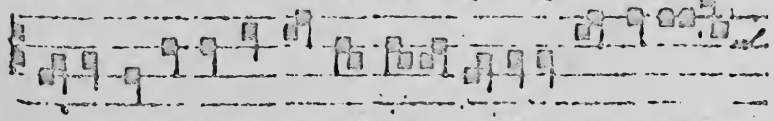
los tuos omnem clerũ et deuotissimũ populũ



vna cũ christianissimo rege nr̃o N. atq; antisti=



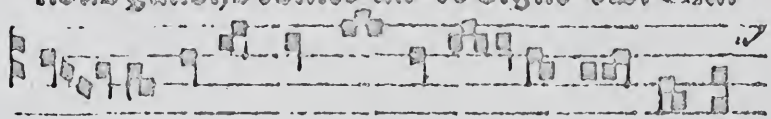
te nostro. N. nec nõ et episcopo nr̃o. N.



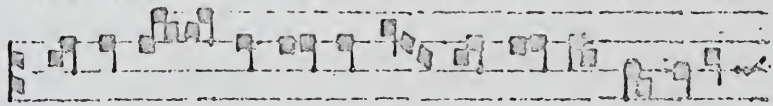
quie te temporũ con cessa in his pascha=

Benedictio cerei paschalis.

libus gaudijs conser ua re digne ris. Qui



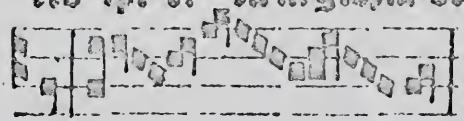
sem per viuis/regnas/impe ras/nec non et



glori a ris solus de us/solus al tissi=

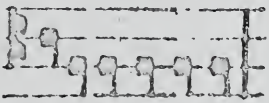
mus ie su christe cum san=

cto spi ri tu in gloria de i pa=

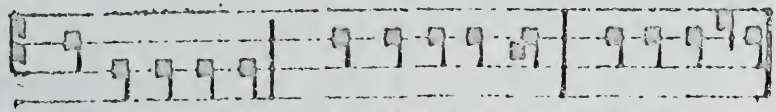


ris. A men. Finita benedictione cerei paschalis/ sacerdos completurus officiũ / induat casulã ad altare autenticum assumpta: cũ ministris suis ad altare accedat: cõfessiõe tam nõ dicta sed tantũ. Pater noster. osculãdo altare cum suis ministris eat sessum: Accedat cereus super hastã

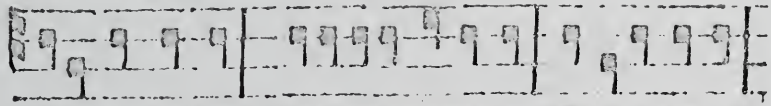
Minister vero q̄ aliū cereū defert ad sinistrū cor-
nu altar; stet sup gradū australe cōuersꝰ quousq;
finiatur septiformis letania. Postea legat lectio
sine titulo a dignioribꝰ psonis. ꝛc. Quibꝰ pactis
sequat septiformis letania/ q̄ in medio chori a septē
pueris in suppel. dicat. Et interim exuat sacer. ca
sulā: ꝛ sup altare reponat et su-
mat cappā rubeā adhuc stando
ante alta. donec cātat le
tania hoc mō vt sequit.



Kyrie eleyson.



Christe eleyson. Christe audi nos. Sctā maria



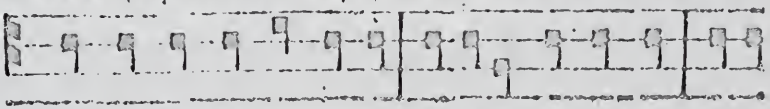
Ora pro nobis. Sctā dei genitrix. Ora p nobis.

Sctā virgo v̄ginū ora
Sancte michael ora
Sancte gabriel ora
Sancte raphael ora
Omnes sancti angeli ꝛ
archangeli Orate.
Sctē iohānes bap. ora
Omnes sancti patriar-
che ꝛ prophete Orate
Sancte petre ora

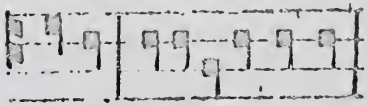
Sancte andrea ora
Sancte iohānes ora
Sancte iacobe ora
Sancte philippe ora
Sctē bartholomee ora
Sancte mathee ora
Omnes sancti apostoli et
euangeliste Orate
Sancte stephane ora
Sancte line ora

Letania

Sancte clete	ora	Sancte remigi	ora
Sancte laurenti	ora	Sancte audoene	ora
Sancte vincenti	ora	Sancte augustine	ora
Sancte sixte	ora	Oēs scti ꝯfessores	orat
Sancte dyonisi cum socijs eius.	Ora	Scta maria magd.	ora
		Sancta felicitas	ora
Oēs scti martyres	orat	Sancta perpetua	ora
Sancte siluester	ora	Sancta agatha	ora
Sancte gregori	ora	Sancta agnes	ora
Sancte hylari	ora	Sancta cecilia	ora
Sancte martine	ora	Sancta scolastica	ora



Omnes sancte viringes. Orate pro nobis. Oēs



Si ep̄s p̄sens fuerit indut⁹ capp̄. serica stet in sede sua dū p̄dicta letania canitur sancti. Orate ꝑ nobis. Fenita hac letania statim incipiat̄ quinta partita letania: q̄ a quiq; dyac̄. in medio chori in suppel. de .ij. forma dicat̄ ꝛ finiatur sub tono supradicto. Cū peruēt̄ tū fuerit ad hāc prolationē. Scta maria. statim exeat ꝓces. ad fontes bn̄dicē dos hoc ordine. In prim⁹ acco. crucē. ferēs alba ꝛ tunica indut⁹: post eū vero .ij. ceroferē. in albis cū amict; deinde thuribul'. in sil̄ habitu: post eū vero .ij. pueri in suppell'. pariter īcedētes: vnus ferēs librū ali⁹ a dextris ei⁹. ferēs cereū ad fōtes bn̄

dicēdos: deide.ij.dya.de.ij.forma alb; cū amictis induti pariter incedētes vnꝰ ferēs oleū: alīꝰ a dexteris eiꝰ ferēs crisma: deide subdya. tunica: deide subdya. in dalma. deide sacer. in cap. sexica rubea: clero itaq; seq̄nti habi. nō muta. ex australi parte ecclie ꝓcedēdo ad fōtes veniāt ꝑdict; dya. letaniā canētibꝰ de singulis ordinibꝰ q̄nq; in med. cler. de ij. forma post executorē offi. hoc mō. ¶ Seq̄t leta.

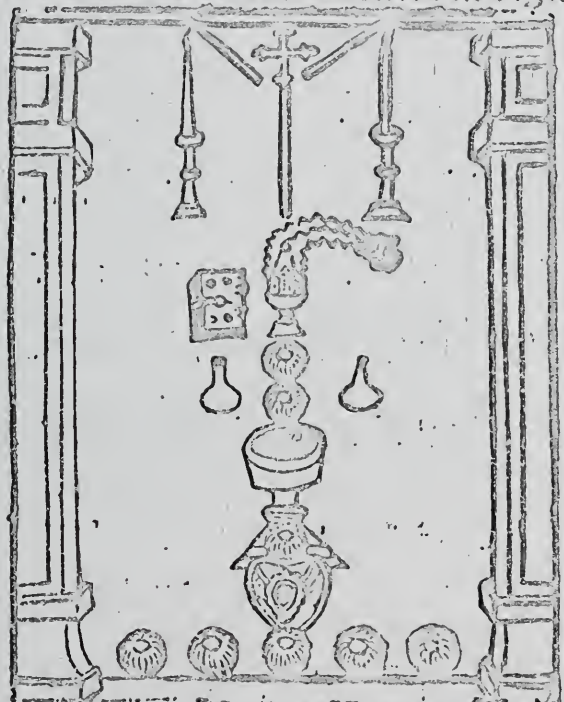
Kyrie eleysō xp̄e eleysō
Christe audi nos.
Sancta maria ora
Sācta dei genitrix ora
Sctā virgo v̄ginū ora
Sancte michael ora
Sancte gabriel ora
Sancte raphael ora
Omnes sancti angeli ꝛ archangeli dei orate.
Sctē iohānes bapt. ora
Omnes sancti patriarche ꝛ prophete orate
Sancte paule ora
Sancte iacobe ora
Sancte thoma ora
Sancte symon ora
Sancte thadee ora
Oēs scti [illegible] ꝛ euā orat
Sancte [illegible] ora
Sancte corneli ora
Sancte cypriane ora
Sancte sebastiane ora
Sancte maurici cum socijs tuis Ora pro nobis
Oēs scti martyres orat
Sancte benedicte ora
Sancte nicolae ora
Sancte germane ora
Sancte romane ora
Sancte adelme ora
Sancte augustine ora
Oēs scti ꝯfessores orat
Sancta lucia ora
Sancta petronilla ora
Sancta katherina ora
Sancta christina ora
Sancta brigitta ora
Oēs sctē virgines orat
Omnes sancti Orate

In vigilia

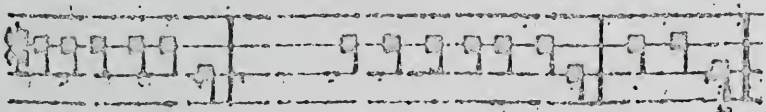
In his duab⁹ letanijs nō dicatur Pater de celis. neq; Fili redēmptor mūdi de⁹. neq; Spūs sancte deus. neq; Sancta trinitas vnus de⁹. Itē Gelasius ostendit dicēs: quia ipse qui pater et filius et spūs sctūs: vna persona in trinitate: ⁊ tres persone in vnitate: ⁊ in sepulchro custodire se mittū oīno dicit adhuc surrexerat a mortuis q̄ voluit ꝓphecīā adimplere: sed iacuit i sepulchro vsq; ad tertiū diē quod bene iste predicte quatuor clausule in his letanijs possūt pretermitti. Hoc mō fiat statio ad fōtes ex parte occidentali donec pereātetur letania. scilicet ad gradū fōtis ex parte occidētali stet sacerdos: recto quē stēt quinq; dyaco. letaniā cātātes. Deinde ad aliū gradū fōtis ex parte oriētali puer librū ferēs: deinde dyaco. deinde subdyac̄. deinde oleū ⁊ crisma: deinde portitor cerei fōtis: deinde thuribu. deinde oleū: deinde ceroferar̄. exinde duo accol̄. crucē ferētes: oībus ad oriētē cōuersis. Executor officij cōuersus ad orientē fōtes bñdicēdo: assistat minister iuxta fontē circūstās ordinate scz a dextris iuxta sacer. stet dya. subdya. vero a sinistris: q̄ fert crisma stet iuxta dyac̄. q̄ vero fert crucē stet sacerdo. oppositus ad eū cōuersus iuxta quē eodē modo stēt cerofer̄. ij. post cerofe. et thuribul̄. q̄ vero fert cereū inter dya. ⁊ crisma puer assit ferēs librū stet inter dyac̄. ⁊ oleū. Episcop⁹ tamē si presēs fuerit/a tergo cauentiū letaniā vt in aliis processiōibus semper in fine vltimū locū tenet,

pasche. Fo. xcvj.

Statio dñi canit letania ad fontes in vigi. pasche.



Deinde executor officij ad fōtes incipiat vt sequit



Dñs vobiscū. Cho. Et cū spiritu tuo. Oremus.

Omps sempiterne deus: adesto magne pietatis mysterijs: adesto sacramētis: ad recreādos nouos pplos quos tibi fōs baptismat: parturit spm adoptiōis emitte: vt qd nre hūilitat: gerēdū est: ministerio tue virtut: impleat. psequat. Sic

In vigilia

effectu. Per dominū nēm iesū xp̄m filium tuū/

q̄ tecū viuit & regnat in vnitate spirit⁹ scti de⁹.

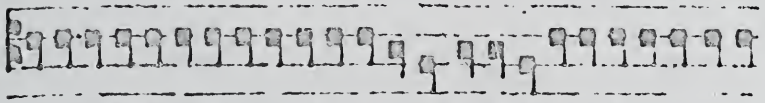
Per omnia secula seculorū. Amē. Dñs vobiscū.

Et cū spiritu tuo. Sursū corda. Habem⁹ ad

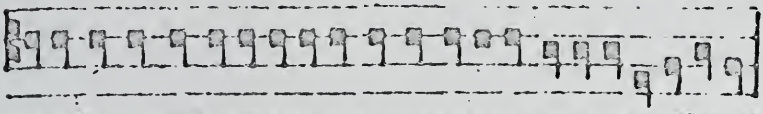
dominū. Gratias agam⁹ domino de o nostro.

Dignū et iustū est. Vere dignū et iustū est equū

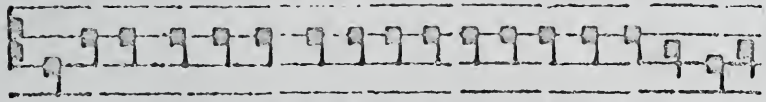
et salutare nos tibi semp̄ et vbiq̄ gratias agere



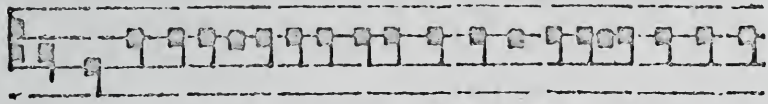
domīe sctē pr̄ oīpotēs eterne deꝰ q̄ inuisibili potē



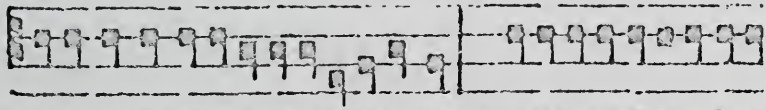
tia sacramētoꝝ tuoꝝ mirabiliter oparis effectū



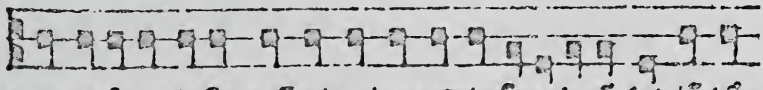
Et licet nos tātis mysterijs exequēdis simꝰ indi



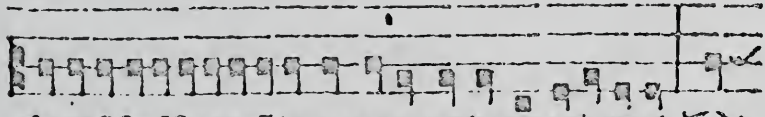
gni: tu tamē gr̄e tue dona nō deserēs etiā ad nr̄as



p̄ces aures tue pietatis īclines. Deꝰ cuiꝰ spūs sup

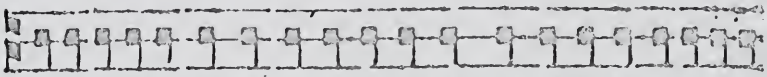


aquas īter ipsa mūdi pr̄imordia ferebar̄: vt iā tūc

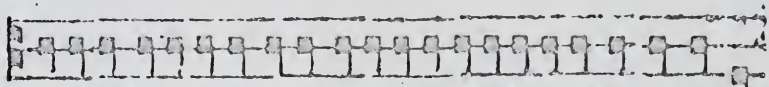


vtutē sctīficatiōis aquaꝝ natura ꝯciperet. De=

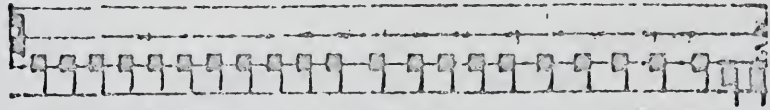
Benedictio



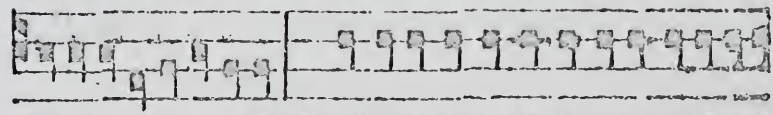
us q̄ nocēt; mūdi crimīa ꝑ aquas abluēs regnā-



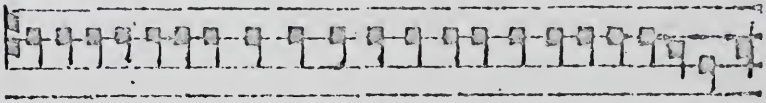
tionis speciē in ipsa diluui ꝯ effusione signasti: vt



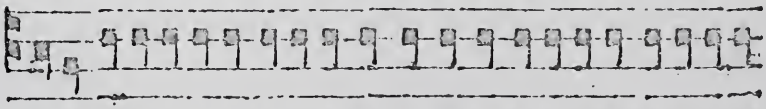
vni⁹ eiusdē q̄ elemēti mysterio ꝛ finis esset vitijs



et origo vtutib⁹. Respice q̄sum⁹ domīe in faciē

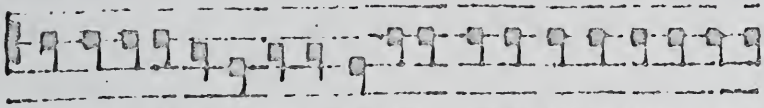


ecclesi e tue ꝛ multiplica in e a regeneratiōes tu

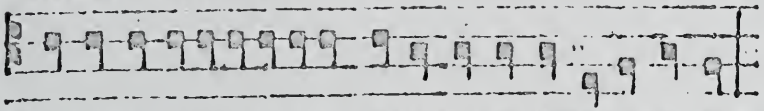


as q̄ gratie tue affluētis impetu letificas ciuitatē

tuā fontē q̄ baptismatis aperis toto orbe terra-

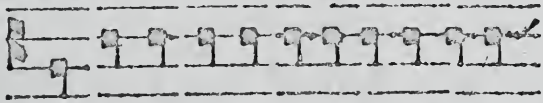


rũ gẽtib⁹ inuocãdis vt tue maiestatis imperio

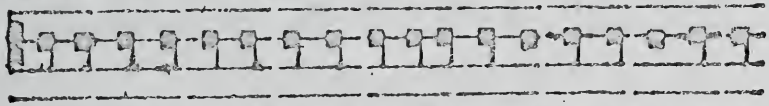


sumat vnigeniti tui gratiam de spiritu sancto.

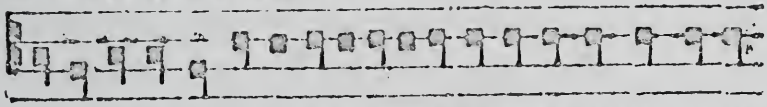
Hic diuidat aquam manu sua in modũ crucis dicens



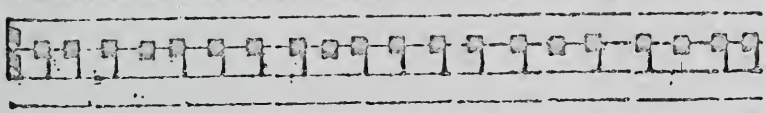
Qui hãc aquã regenerãdis homi-



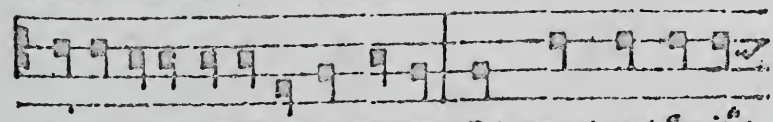
nibus preparatã archana sui luminis admixtio-



ne fecũdet vt sanctificatione ꝯcepta ab immacu-



lato diuini fõtis vtero in nouã renatã creaturã



progenies celestis emergat. Et quos aut sexus

Benedictio

in corpore aut etas discernit i tẽpore oẽs in vnã

pariat gratiam mẽ infantiã Procul ergo hic iubẽ

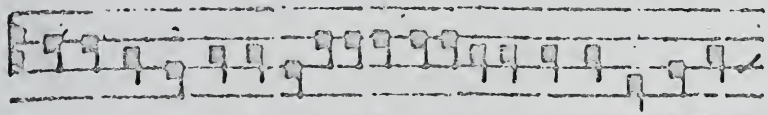
te te dñe oĩs spũs immũdꝰ abscedat ꝓcul tota ne

quitia dyabolice fraudis absistat. Nihil hic loci

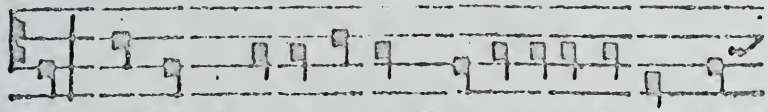
habeat cõtrarie vtutis admixtio nõ insidiãdo cir

cũuolet nõ latẽdo surrepat nõ inficiẽdo corũpat

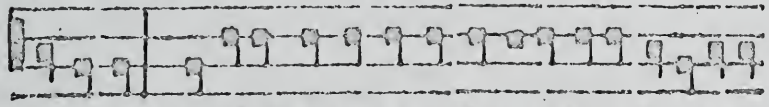
Sit hec sctã ꝙ inocẽs creatura libera ab omni ipu-



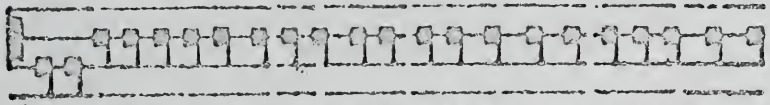
gnatoris incursu & totius nequitie purgata discel=



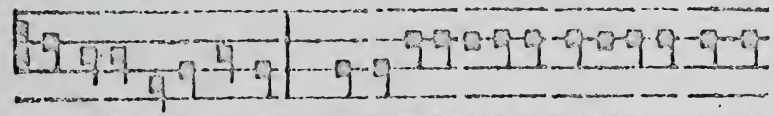
su. Sit fons ✠ viuus aqua ✠ regenerans vnda ✠ pu



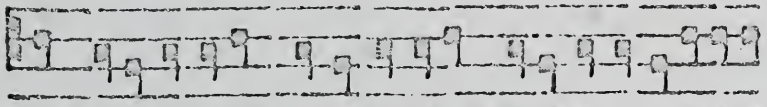
rificans. Vt omnes hoc lauacro saluti fero diluendi:



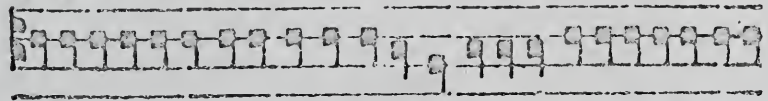
operante in eis spiritu sancto: perfecte purgationis indul



gentiam consequantur. Vnde benedico te creatura aqua

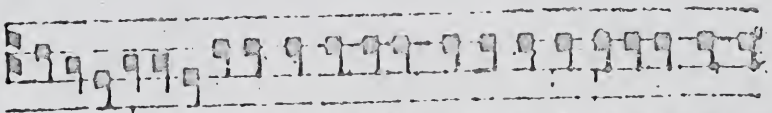


per ✠ deum viuum per ✠ deum verum per ✠ deum sanctum per deum qui

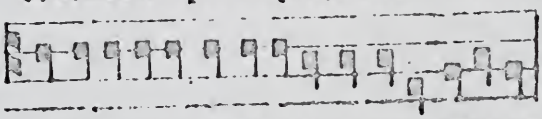


te in principio verbo separauit ab arida cuius spiritus super

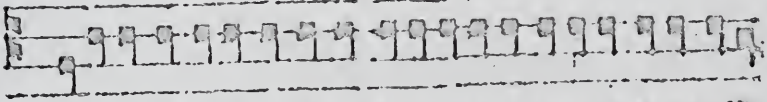
Benedictio



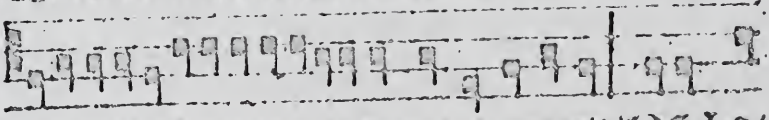
te ferebat q̄ te de paradiso manare fecit ꝛ ī quatu



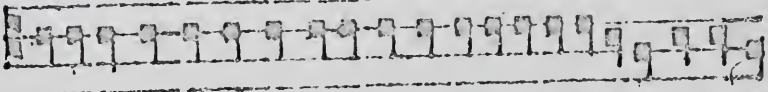
Hic enciat mā
un aquā de fū
te ī modū cru
or flumīb⁹ totā trā rigare p̄cepit. cis ī. iiij. ptes.



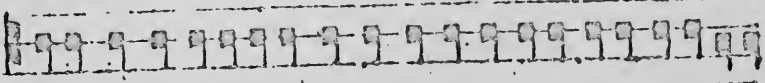
Qui te ī deserto amarā snauitate indita fecit esse



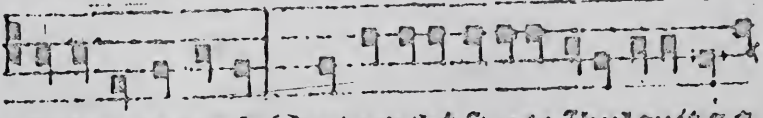
potabilē ꝛ sitienti ppl̄o de petra ꝓduxit. Bñ ✠ di



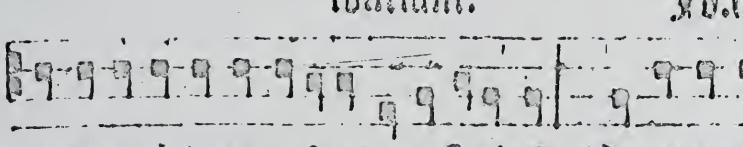
co te ꝑ iesum xp̄m filium eius vnicū dñm nr̄m q̄



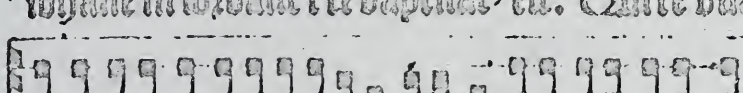
te ī chana galile e signo admirabili sua potētia



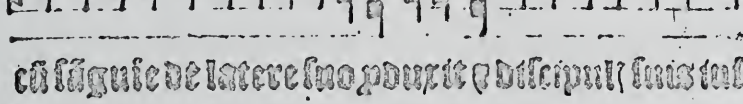
cōuertit in vinū. Qui pedib⁹ sup̄ te ābulauit ꝛ a



iohãne in iordane i te baptisat⁹ est. Qui te vna



cũ sãguĩe de latere suo ꝓduxit ꝗ discipuli suis ius-

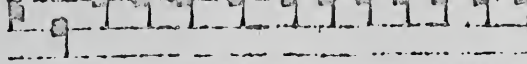


sit vt credẽtes baptizarẽtur in te dicẽs ite docete

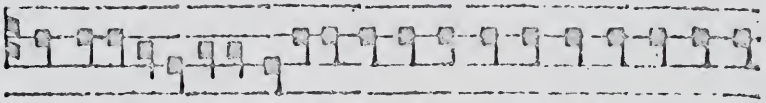
oẽs gẽtes baptizãtes eos in nomĩe pr̃is ꝗ fi. li ;

Hic mutet vocẽ quasi legẽdo hec vobis p̃cepta seruãtib⁹ tu deus op̃s ꝗ clemẽs adesto et spiritus sancti. tu benign⁹ aspira. Hic aspiret in fontẽ ter in modũ crucis Tu has supplices aquas tuo ore bene ✠ dicito: vt p̃ter naturalẽ emundationẽ quã lauandis possint adhibere corporibus sint etiã purificandis mentib⁹ efficaces.

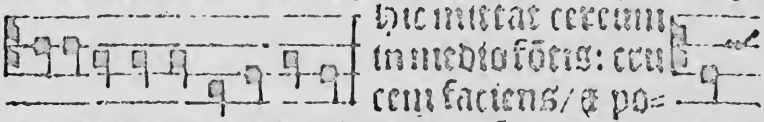
Hic stillet de cereo in fontẽ in modũ crucis dicẽs. Descẽdat in hãc plenitudinẽ fõtis



Benedictio



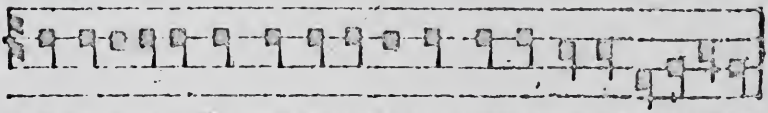
virtꝰ spūs scti totāq; huiꝰ aque substātiam rege



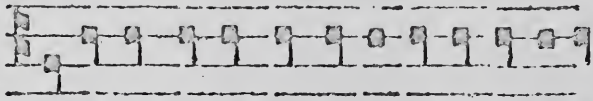
Hic mittat cereum in medio fōtis: crucem faciens/ & ponerādi fecūdet effectū. stea prosequatur. Hic

omniū peccatorū macule deleantur: hic natura

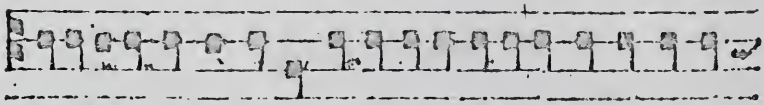
ad ymaginē tui cōdita: & ad honorē sui reforma



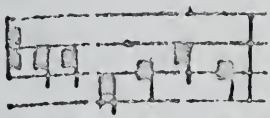
ta principi i cūctis vetustatis squaloribꝰ emūdet.



Hic extrahatur cereus a fonte ita dicēdo. Ut omnis homo hoc sacramētū regene



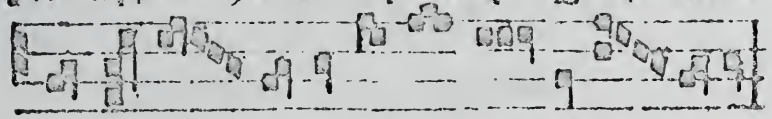
ratiōis ingressꝰ in vere innocēti e nouā infan-



Per dñm nostrũ iesum christũ filium tuũ. Qui tecũ vivit & regnat in vnitate spũs sancti deꝰ. tiã renascatur. Per omnia secula seculorũ. Amẽ

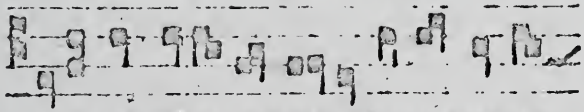
¶ Consecratis fontibꝰ non infundetur oleũ neq; crisma nisi fuerit aliqs baptisandus. Cõpleto fontiũ ministerio tres clerici de superiori gradu i cappis sericis: videlicet i rubeis & tertiꝰ in cappa dalmatica in medio ꝓces. in cẽsido cantẽt hãc letaniã simul: ita qd primꝰ vꝰ. cãtetur a ꝑdictis clericis anteq̃ ꝓcedat ꝓces. hoc mõ sequẽti

Ex sanctorum ange

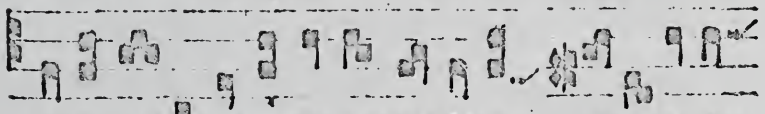


lorum totum mundũ ad iuua.

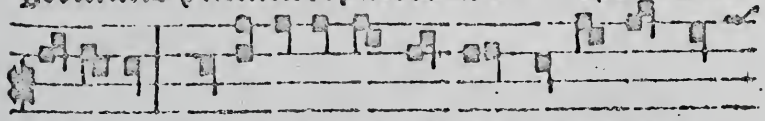
Chorꝰ idẽ repet: post vnũquẽq; vm. vsus.



Ora primũ tu ꝑ nobis virgo mater

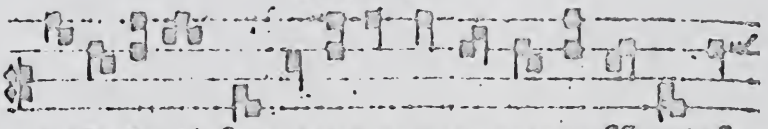


germinis & ministri patris sũmi ordines an=

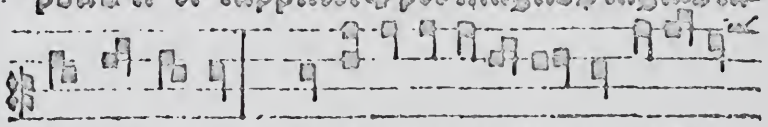


ge li ci. Supplicate christo re gi ce tus a=

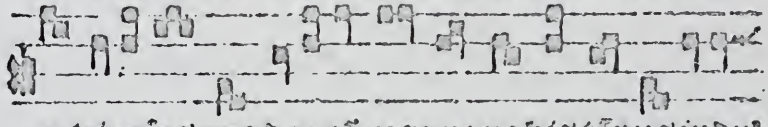
Benedictio



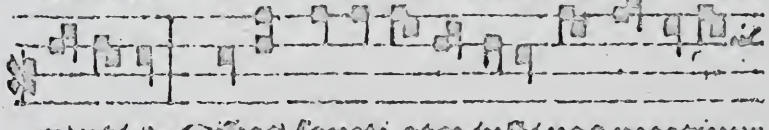
posto li ci supplicetq; per magnoꝝ sãgnis fu-



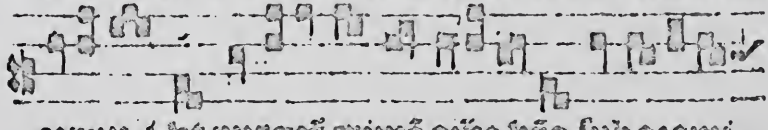
sus martyrũ. Implorate cõfesso res cõsone



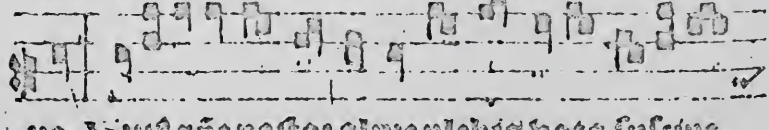
q; virgies quo donet̃ magne nobis tẽpus indul



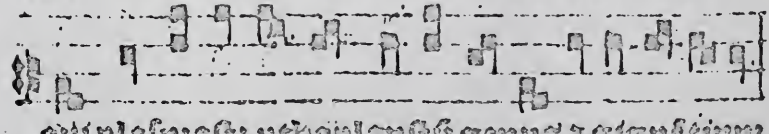
genti e. Omnes sancti atq; iusti nos precamur



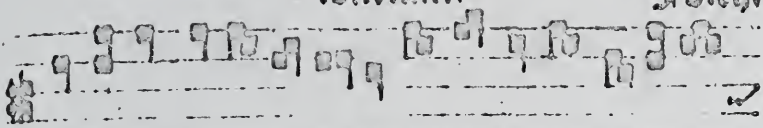
cernu i vt purget̃ crimẽ omne vr̃o sub orami-



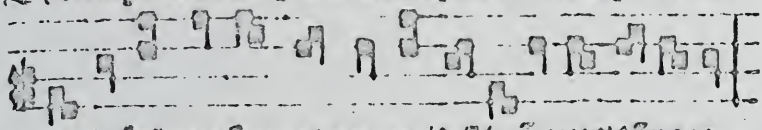
ne. Huiꝰ xp̃e pastor alme plebis vota suscipe



qui plasmasti ꝓthoplaustũ genus ⁊ gignẽtium



Presta patris atq; na ti cōpar sancte spiritus:



Vt te solum semper omni diligāmus tēpore.

Deinde incipiat missa sine regimine chori immediate cātore incipiente. ¶ In die pasche ante missam ⁊ ante cāpanarū pulsationē conueniant clerici ad ecclesiā ⁊ accendant oīa luminaria per ecclesiā Duo excellentioris psone cū ceroferario: ⁊ thuribulario ⁊ clero circūstante ad sepulchrū accedant ⁊ incensato pri⁹ sepulchro cū magna veneratione statim post thurificatio. genuflectēdo corp⁹ dñicū priuatim sup altare deponant. Iterū accipiēt crucē de sepulchro ⁊ incipiat excellētior persona. Christ⁹ resurgens. cū quo eat proces. presbyteriū austral'. incedendo p medium chori regrediēs cū predicta cruce de sepulchro assūpta inter duos sacerdo. predictos: sup eoꝝ brachia venerabiliter portata cū thuribulario ⁊ ceroferario precedente per ostiū presbyterij boreale exeūdo ad vnū altare ex parte boreale eccl'ie cho. seq̄nte habitū nō mutato excellentioribꝰ precedentibꝰ corpore vero dñico sup altare ī pixide dimisso in subthesaurū custod. q̄ illud in p̄dicta pixide in tabernaculo dependeat

SERVICES IN

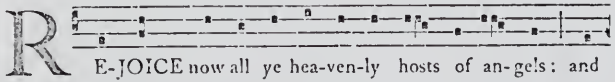
HOLY WEEK

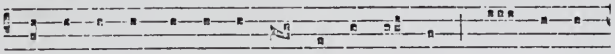
being a
Palm Sunday Procession
A Maundy Service
The Solemn Prayers, Reproaches
and other devotions of
Good Friday
Blessing the Paschal
and
The Great Vigil Service of
Easter Eve

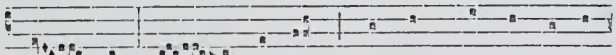
PLAINSONG & MEDIÆVAL MUSIC SOCIETY
Nashdom Abbey, Burnham, Bucks.
Publishing Office: 22 Buckingham St., Charing Cross, W.C.2

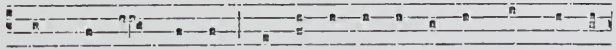
Exultet[1]

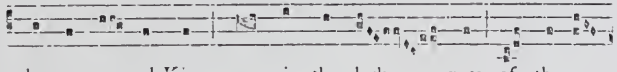
The Bidding











[1] From the Sarum Gradual and Processional. See p. 37.

ple. Where- fore I pray and be-seech you, be- lov- ed breth -ren,

at- ten-ding the glo- ri- ous bright-ness of this il- lu-mi- na- tion,

that ye call with one ac cord up-on the lov-ing- kind-ness of our

God, mer- ci- ful and migh- ty. That he who hath

deign-ed gra-cious-ly to num- ber me, the most un-wor-thy of

his ser-vants a-mong the or- der of dea-cons, would pour up-on

me the light of his Ho- ly Spi- rit, that I may wor- thi- ly

per- form this sa- cred Pas-chal of- fice. Through his Son Je- sus

Christ, our on- ly Lord and Sa-viour, who with the Fa- ther liv-

eth and reign-eth, One God in the u- ni- ty of the Ho- ly

Spi- rit, For ev- er and ev- er, world with-out end. A-men.

The Consecration Prayer

The Lord be with you. ℟. And with thy spi- rit. ℣. Lift up

your hearts. ℟. We lift them up un- to the Lord ℣. Let us give

thanks un-to our Lord God. ℟. It is meet and right so to do.

IT is ve- ry meet and right, to pro-claim with de-sire of

heart and mind, the in- vi- si- ble God om- ni- po-tent, the Fa-

ther, and his on- ly be- got-ten Son with the ho- ly Spi-

rit. For he did pay for us the debt of A-dam to the e- ter-

nal Fa-ther, and blot-ted out the old sin in his ho- ly blood.

For this is the Pas-chal Feast in which that ve- ry

Lamb is slain, and by his blood the door- posts are hal- low- ed.

This is the night in which thou ma-dest our fa-thers, the

chil-dren of Is- ra- el, whom thou brought-est up out of E- gypt,

to pass through the Red Sea dry- shod. This there-fore is

the night where-in were dri-ven a- way the shades of sin by

thelight of the pil- lar. O thrice

bless-ed night, in which E- gypt is ut- ter- ly des- troy- ed and

the He-brews tri- umph, night in which hea-ven-ly things are join-ed

un- to earth- ly. This is the night which e-ven now

re- stores to grace and u- nites the be-liev- ers in Christ through-

out the u- ni-verse, set free from the e- vil of the world

and the dark- ness of sin. This is the

night, in which Christ burst the bonds of death, and from the grave

is ris'n a- gain in tri-umph. For it had ad-van-ta- ged

us no-thing to be born, ex- cept we had been re- deem- ed.

O won-drous con-de- scen-sion of thy love con- cern-

ing us. O in- es- ti- ma- ble love of thy fa-

ther- ly com-pas-sion: to re- deem re- bel ser-vants thou didst

give thine on- ly Son! O tru- ly bless- ed night which

a- lone was wit- ness of the hour and sea- son where-in Christ

per- fect- ed his Re- sur- rec- tion! This is

the night where- of it is writ- ten 'The night is as clear as

the day', and, 'My night is turn- ed to day in my joy and

glad- ness'. There- fore through the sanc-ti- fy- ing pow-er of

this night wick-ed- ness fle- eth, sin is pur-ged, and in-no-

cence re-stor-ed to the fall- en, and joy to the sor-row-ful;

ha- tred van- ish-eth, peace-ful con-cord reign-eth, low laid is

ty- ran-ny.

There- fore in ho-nour of this night, re- ceive, ho- ly

Fa-ther,[1] this il- lu- mi- na-tion as our eve- ning sa- cri- fice,

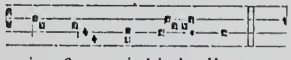
which to thee in this so- lemn ob- la- tion of wax,

the work of bees, the Ho- ly Church of- fer- eth at the hands

of her min- is-ters. Full well we know the ti-dings

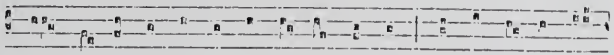
of this fie- ry pil- lar, which in hon-our of our God the glow-

[1] If, as was formerly the custom, the Deacon places five grains of incense in the candle, he does so at the words 'receive, holy Father'.

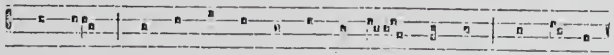


ing flame is kind- ling.

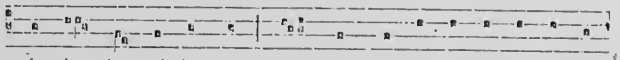
Here the paschal candle shall be lighted from the triple candle and thereupon all the other tapers and lamps throughout the church shall be kindled.



Though it be dis- per-sed in ma- ny quar-ters by bor-row-ed ra-

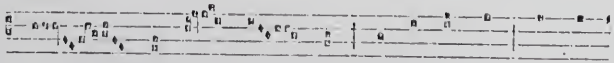


di- ance, yet it suf- fer-eth no di- mi- nu- tion; nou-rish-ed



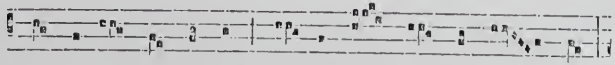
it is by melt-ing wax brought forth for sus-ten-ance to this pre-

cious shin- ing lu- mi- na- ry by the la- bour of the bee.



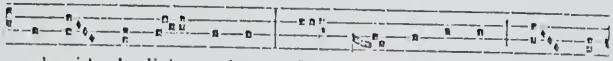
We pray thee, O Lord, that this can- dle, con- se-

cra- ted to the ho-nour of thy Name, may last un- fail-



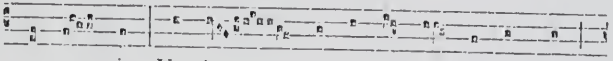
ing for the dis-pers-ing of the dark- ness of this night.

Be- ing ac- cep- ta- ble for its sweet o-dour, let it be join-



ed with the lights a-bove. Let the morn-ing star find it

burn-ing, to wit that morn- ing star which know-eth



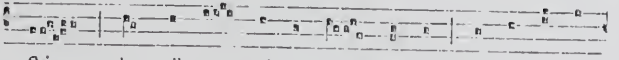
no set- ting; Yea he who re- turn- ed from the grave,

and shone se- rene up- on man-kind. We there-fore pray

thee, O Lord, that un-to us thy ser-vants, all the cler-

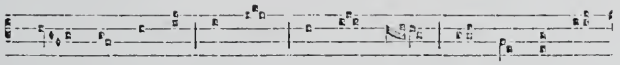
gy and most de- vout peo- ple, to- geth- er with our Arch-bish-

op, N. and our King N. and like-wise our Bish-op

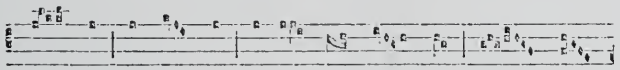


N., thou wilt grant qui- et- ness of times, and that in these

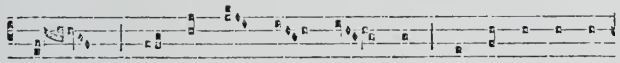
Pas- chal joys thou wilt be pleas- ed to pre- serve us: Who



ev- er liv- est, reign-est, go- ver- nest, and al- so art



prai- sed, God, a- lone, on- ly the most high, Je- su



Christ, with the Ho- ly Spi- rit, in the glo- ry of

God the Fa- ther. A- men.

PRINTED IN ENGLAND
AT S. MARY'S PRESS, THE CONVENT, WANTAGE.
1933

Rorate

1.

R O-rá-te cæ-li dé-su-per, et nú-bes plú-ant jústum.

Chorus repetitur Roráte

1. Ne i-rascá-ris Dó-mi-ne, ne ul-tra me-mí-ne-ris in-

iqui-tá-tis: ecce cí-vi-tas Sánctí fácta est desér-ta:

Si-on de-sérta fá-cta est: Je-rú-sa-lem de-so-lá-ta est:

dó-mus san-cti-fi-ca-ti-ó-nis tú-æ, et gló-ri-

æ tú-æ, u-bi lau-da-vé-runt te pátres nóstri.

℣. Roráte.

2. Pec-cá-vi-mus, et fá-cti sú-mus tam-quam immún-

dus nos, et ce-ci-di-mus qua-si fó-li-um u-ni-versi:

et i-ni-qui-tá-tes nó-stræ qua-si vén-tus ab-stu-lé-runt

nos: abscon-dí-sti fá-ci-em tú-am a nó-bis, et al-

li-sí-sti nos in má-nu in-i-qui-tá-tis nó-stræ.

℣. Roráte.

3. Ví-de Dó-mi-ne af-fli-cti-ó-nem pó-pu-li tú-i, et

mítte quem missú-rus es: e-mit-te A-gnum domi-na-tó-

rem tér-ræ, de pétra de-sérti ad móntem fí-li-æ Si-on:

ut áufer-at i-pse jú-gum ca-pti-vi-tá-tis nóstræ.

℣. Roráte.

4. Consolámi-ni, con-so-lámi-ni pópu-le mé-us: ci-to vé-

ni et sálus tú-a: qua-re mœ-ró-re consúme-ris, qui-a inno-

vávit te dólor? Salvá-bo te, nó-li timére, égo enim sum

Dómi-nus Dé-us tú-us, Sánctus Isra-el, re-démptor tú-us.

℣. Roráte.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Mark Francis Cosgrove was born September 15, 1930, in Detroit, Michigan. After fifteen years in Detroit he moved with his family to Florida and attended St. Leo Preparatory School in Florida. In 1946 he joined the seminary; in 1951 he became a monk of St. Leo Abbey, St. Leo, Florida; and in 1956 he was ordained a Catholic priest.

He received his degree of Associate of Arts in 1950 from St. Bernard's College in Alabama and his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1953 from St. Benedict's College in Kansas. In 1957 he completed a four-year theological program of studies. In 1961 he received the degree of Master of Arts from the University of Detroit, writing his thesis on the language parody in the "Oxen of the Sun" episode in James Joyce's Ulysses.

During the academic years 1953-64, 1966, 1969-70 Father Cosgrove taught English in both St. Leo Preparatory School and St. Leo College. At present he is an Assistant Professor of English at St. Leo College.

This dissertation was prepared under the direction of the chairman of the candidate's supervisory committee and has been approved by all members of that committee. It was submitted to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was approved as partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

March 1970

Dean, College of Arts and Sciences

Dean, Graduate School

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